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Some Inscriptions on Vases: VIII

SIR JOHN BEAZLEY

PLATES 53-54

I

The inscriptions on the Douris cup Louvre G 115 are unusual:¹ first, because there are so many of them; secondly, because they have so many mistakes in spelling; thirdly, because this is the only vase that bears the name of the potter Kalliades; fourthly, because the kalos-name Hermogenes does not occur elsewhere. The field of the inside picture, Eos lifting the body of her son Memnon, teems with letters: besides the names of the two figures, there are the signature of the potter, the signature of the painter, the kalos-inscription, and above it an inscription that has not been explained:² -ENEME-KNERINE, preceded by a sign like an epsilon minus the top bar, or a digamma upside down. I cannot account for this sign, whether it is a false start or not, but the rest may perhaps be accounted for. HERMOGENES KALOS the writer says, and follows it by (with KNE by metathesis for ENK) ENEMEENKRINE, ἦν ἐμὲ ἐνκρίνη(ι).³ "Hermogenes is fair—if he count me in, admit me among his friends." So our own poet:

"Be she fairer than the day
Or the flow'ry meads in May,
If she think not well of me,
What care I how fair she be?"

II

The four fragments figured on pl. 53, fig. 2, from the outside of a cup of about 430 B.C., are in the collection of Mr. Mario Astarita at Naples, and he has kindly allowed me to publish them. For the photographs I am indebted to Dietrich von Bothmer: I have examined the fragments myself, but it was he who first told me of them; he read nearly all the inscriptions, which are in small, faint, rather rough letters, not very easy to make out; and he saw that the artist was the Codrus Painter. Fragment α has the upper part of an old man with white hair

¹ ARV 285 no. 70. The inscriptions are clearly visible in the photographic reproductions: Hoppin *Rf* i p. 245; Pottier pl. 108; Pfuhl fig. 466; *Enc. phot.* iii pp. 14-15.

² Duemmler's suggestion has found favour (*BPIW* [1891] 469 = *Kleine Schriften* iii p. 359) but surely does not deserve it.

and beard, wreathed. His himation, a small piece of which is visible to right of his left arm, leaves his shoulders bare. The attitude is that of one leaning on his stick. There are three inscriptions. The name to left of the head is preserved in full, ΑΗΔΑ. Those to right of the head are not, but the supplements are obvious: -ΑΘΕΝ[ΑΙΑ], and, below that, ΠΡΟΜΕΘ[ΕΥΣ]. So the white-haired man is Prometheus; Athena stood to right of him, probably turned towards him, and Leda stood behind him on the left. Considering the large empty space to left of Prometheus, it is likely that Leda formed part of another group. If Leda was in the picture, then her children must have been in it too, and much more probably grouped with her than in another part of the scene. That Prometheus should be white-haired and white-bearded is not unnatural: as son of a Titan, and a Titan himself, he belonged to an older generation and an older order than Zeus and the other deities of Olympus. *Titanasque senes* is Manilius' expression (2.15); see also the opening of Cratinus' *Ploutoi* (Page, *Greek Literary Papyri* 198-99, especially line 22 of the Greek text).

Wherever the scene is laid, the period thought of must be after the release of Prometheus, as on the well-known cup in the Cabinet des Médailles, a late work of Douris, to be dated about 470-460, where Hera is seated on her throne, holding phiale, sceptre and flower, and Prometheus, also sceptred, stands facing her.⁴

It is possible that fragment β gives more of the Prometheus, and a little of the Athena. What is preserved is part of a male figure in a himation, leaning on his stick to right, his right hand extended as if in conversation, and parts of the legs of a female figure standing with the weight on the right leg, which was no doubt in profile, and the left leg bent at the knee and no doubt seen from the front or nearly. The costume is a peplos, girt at the waist, over the apotygmata. Fragment β does

³ The verb had already occurred to Fröhner (*Vases du Prince Napoléon* p. 9): "le bel Hermogènes m'a choisie seule (entre toutes les coupes), ἦν ἐμὲ ἐνκρίνη 'Ἐρμογένης καλός.'"

⁴ 542: *Monist* 5 pl. 35, whence Roscher s.v. Prometheus p. 3086: ARV 287 no. 113.

not join fragment α , and after poring over it many times I conclude that while the left-hand figure on β may very well be the same as that on α , one cannot be absolutely certain that it is.

Fragment γ , which is much darkened, has part of a female figure wearing a chiton, over it a peplos, and on the shoulders a short fringed cloak of the kind known to us from many figures on vases of the later fifth century.⁵ Three fingers of one hand are preserved in part, and the figure seems to be in movement, but I cannot be sure of the motive.

Fragment δ has, on the right, the outstretched right arm of a woman wearing a chiton. From the gesture, the head was doubtless turned to left. The inscription above the arm tells us that this is ΠΕΙΘΩ, Peitho. To left of the hand is the upper half of a male head turned in three-quarter view to left. The horn, and the animal ear to right of it, suggest that Pan was represented; and a youthful Pan, from the shortness of the horn. Between the two figures, below Peitho's fingers, are what may be the remains of a pelt, held out by Pan. If Peitho is there, then Aphrodite must have been there as well, for Peitho never appears—does she?—except as a companion of Aphrodite.

As to Pan, vase-painters show Pan, or Pans, as present at the Birth of Aphrodite.⁶

Fragment δ is probably not from the same half of the cup as fragment α ; but the rule in our painter is that the subject extends over both halves of the cup-exterior. What is the connection between the two halves of this cup: between Prometheus, Athena, Leda, her children, on the one hand, and Aphrodite, Peitho, Pan on the other?

The answer must be conjectural. The subject of the whole exterior may have been the Birth of Aphrodite: on one half, Aphrodite with Pan, Peitho, and other deities (Eros and Ares?); on the other half, more deities thought of as present

at the Birth: Apollo and Artemis with their mother; Prometheus and Athena. Five figures in each half would be a sufficient number; but of course there may have been more.

The small round to right of Pan's head is a rivet-hole. On the head itself, near the rim of the cup, is what I take to be his thumb: he would be grasping his head in surprise.⁷

We have not explained why Prometheus should be present. One recalls the white-haired goddesses watching the Birth of Aphrodite on the hydria in Syracuse. Moirai? or Semnai?⁸ White-haired deities—these, and Prometheus—seem to add depth, as it were, to the background of the myth: reminding us that Aphrodite, though in one sense a newcomer, in another is of most ancient lineage, the seed of Ouranos himself. But this is fancy.

That Prometheus should be grouped with Athena can readily be understood. We read that in the Academy at Athens Prometheus was honoured together with Athena, and had a shrine and altar in the goddess' own precinct.⁹ There are a good many pictures of him on Attic vases in the late seventh century and the first half of the sixth.¹⁰ Thereafter, for a long time, they are rare: the cup in the Cabinet des Médailles, referred to above, is exceptional. Then in the forties or thirties of the fifth century, he again becomes popular, for a generation or more, with vase-painters.¹¹ Our fragments add another to these representations. In sculpture, the writer just quoted goes on to speak of an ancient base at the entrance to the Academy, decorated with figures in relief, Prometheus and Hephaistos standing at their common altar, Prometheus bearing a sceptre, and characterized as the senior of the two. The word is *πρεσβύτερος*, and one cannot infer from it that he was represented as old.

Part of what has been said is certain or practically so; part must needs be uncertain. Along one edge

⁵ Such as the Aphrodite on the cup by the Codrus Painter in Würzburg (491: *RM* 47 pl. 5; Langlotz pl. 159; *JHS* 59 p. 119; *ARV* 740 no. 13), or the Agaue on the Meidias hydria in the British Museum (FR pl. 8, whence Pfuhl fig. 593; *CV* pl. 91, 1a).

⁶ E.g. pelike Rhodes 12454 (*CIRh* 4, pp. 103-06; *CV* pl. 1, 2-3 and pl. 2, 1; Herbig, *Pan* pl. 19, 1; *ARV* p. 720, Erichthonios Painter no. 2); hydria Syracuse 23912 (*CV* pl. 24, whence *Marbb* 15 p. 26 fig. 34 and *Jb* 65-66 p. 167; Erika Simon, *Die Geburt der Aphrodite* 47; *ARV* 701 no. 99; manner of the Peleus Painter). See Caskey & Beazley ii p. 62.

⁷ Compare, for example, *AJA* (1940) 212.

⁸ See note 6. Moirai: *CB* ii p. 62; Erika Simon *op.cit.* 46. Semnai: Rumpf in *Jdl* 65-66 pp. 166-71.

⁹ Schol. Soph. *O.C.* 56, quoting Apollodoros of Athens; *συνημῆται δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ, καθάπερ ὁ Ἡφαίστος, καὶ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ παλαιὸν ἱεῖσμα καὶ βωμὸς ἐν τῷ ταμίῳ τῆς θεᾶς. δεικνύται δὲ καὶ βάσεις ἀρχαῖα κατὰ τὴν εἰσοδὸν ἐν ἧ τῷ τε Προμηθεὺς ἔστι τόπος καὶ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου. περὶ ἧται δὲ, ὡς καὶ Διομαχίδης φησὶν, ὁ μὲν Προμηθεὺς πρῶτος καὶ πρεσβύτερος, ἐν δεξιᾷ σκῆπτρον ἔχων, ὁ δὲ Ἡφαίστος νεὸς καὶ δεύτερος· καὶ βωμὸς ἀμφοῖν κοινὸς ἔστιν ἐν τῇ βᾶσει ἀποστετυκωμένος.*

¹⁰ See *ABV* index s.v.

¹¹ See *AJA* (1939) 618-39; (1940) 212; also *CV* Oxford ii p. 123 on pl. 67, 1, and Callipolis-Feytmans in *Mélanges Gregoire* iv pp. 151-56.

of one fragment there is a slight stain that looks as if it had been caused by modern paint or adhesive, now worn off. This leads one to hope that other pieces of the same cup may be extant somewhere. Should such come to light, in the pleasure of learning the truth I should not greatly mind if they proved some of my conjectures wrong.

III

Fragments of a noble Attic volute-krater, from Spina, in Ferrara,¹³ were assigned to the Group of Polygnotos, as no. 25, in *ARV* p. 696, and said to be near the Peleus Painter, one of the best artists in the Group. Aurigemma had already noticed the stylistic connection with the calyx-krater in Ferrara from which the Peleus Painter has his name. I have no doubt that the fragments are by the Peleus Painter himself. The date is about 440-430 B.C.

I am much indebted to Prof. Salvatore Aurigemma, who kindly authorized me to figure the fragments; and to Prof. Nereo Alfieri, who allowed me to re-examine the originals; had the inscriptions (which had been repainted) cleaned; and provided me with excellent photographs. Those reproduced on pl. 53, figs. 1 and 3 are by Mr. Graziani; those on pl. 54 by Mr. Agodi.

There are three fragments (each composed of several). One of them, X, unpublished, is from the neck and mouth of the vase. The other two, Y (pl. 53, fig. 3) and Z (pl. 53, fig. 1), have figure-work. The right half of Y (pl. 53, fig. 3) has been published already, the left half is published here for the first time. On the left we see a tall tripod (standing on a low base, the top right-hand corner of which is preserved), and a naked man, mature-bearded, and his chest hairy—placing a white fillet upon it. One end of the fillet hangs down between the legs of the tripod, and the other is held in the man's right hand, the tags showing to left of the forearm. The left hand holds a second fillet, which appears to be the same as that which is tied round the left arm above the elbow. The head is bound with a thick fillet, this time reserved, parts of which

are seen at the shoulders. This fillet, and that tied round the arm, mark the man as a victor in an athletic contest: he is dedicating the tripod which he has won in the games. The tripod, or part of it, must have come under one handle of the vase, and so must the small convex remains (without relief-contour) to left of the tripod. I thought that these remains might be from the top of a sepulchral mound, the monument of the dead man in whose honour the games had been held.¹⁴

To right of this man comes a group of four persons, whose action is not connected with him, since his back is turned to them. If the reader has *Spina*, by Alfieri and Arias, at hand, he will find our description of the group easier to follow in the big reproduction on their plates 96 and 97 than in our smaller one, which will serve, however, in default of the other. A victorious athlete—ΠΟΛΥΔΕΥ- [ΚΗΣ], Polydeukes, as the inscription says (pl. 54, 1)—stooping, is crowned by one of two presidents of the games, or judges as we shall call them, who sit side by side on chairs. The judge nearer us is a bearded man with a wreath over his long hair. He wears a chitoniskos (visible on his thighs, and at his back just below the right arm); over it a chlamys; and sandals with half-stockings. He holds a wreath, not yet tied, with both hands; the raised left hand is preserved, the other missing. Three of the chairlegs are visible, and a stretch of the fourth.

The second judge is also seated, but all that remains of his chair is the top of the backboard and the lower ends of the two back legs. Bending, he extends both arms, placing a wreath on the head of the naked athlete in front of him. He wears the same costume as his colleague, chitoniskos and chlamys; doubtless sandals and stockings as well, but the feet and shanks are wanting. So is the head, but neck and right shoulder are preserved, to right of the other judge's left hand. The head seems to have been beardless, but of that one cannot be quite sure.

The fourth person in the group has not been noticed by previous writers.¹⁴ He stands, in front

¹³ T. 404. Part, *NSe* (1927) pl. 19, 2 (Negrioli); part, *Aurigemma*¹ p. 205 = p. 237, whence (part) *StEr* 18 pl. 10, 1 (Marchese); part, *Stella* p. 601, above; part, Alfieri and Arias, *Spina* pls. 96-97 (Arias). Also described (without reproduction) by Arias in Arias and Alfieri, *Il Museo Arch. di Ferrara* 67.

¹⁴ One writer has suggested the wing of a Boread; another, the prow of a ship. I cannot explain why on the right, just before the fragment ends, the curve alters and spreads.

¹⁵ The previous descriptions of the group are as follows:

- (1) "Polydeukes crowned with laurel by a male figure (. . . ΑΣ), whose head is missing, in presence of a wreathed and bearded man seated opposite him" (Negrioli).
- (2) "Polydeukes crowned . . . perhaps by a goddess" (Marchese).
- (3) "A bearded figure seated, majestically draped, beside whom there is a female figure (the middle of whose trunk remains) crowning a youth who bends in front of her to receive the token of victory . . . on the head of the youth

view, on the far side of the seated judges. He wears a chlamys, sandals and half-stockings; whether a chitoniskos also, one cannot say. What is seen of him is his right shank and foot, his chlamys in the region of his right elbow (above and to left of the first judge's left hand and the right shoulder of the second), and (above the right wrist of the second judge) the lower edge of his left forearm. He holds a pair of spears, upright, in his left hand—the spears that regularly go with the chlamys as part of a travelling outfit. Above the inscription ΠΟΛΥΔΕΥ- [ΚΗΣ] is the end of another name, . . . ΑΣ (pl. 54, 6)—the name, it must be, of the standing person.

Above the back of Polydeukes' head is what may be part of the forked top of a rhabdos held by a lost figure to right of the group: a little of one prong being preserved, and, just before the fragment ends on the right, of the contour-band outlining the other prong.

If you look at the right shank of the hither judge you see an upright band, in faded white, starting from the ground, and turning at right angles when it reaches the level of the knee. It must be the remains of a small table, the table on which the wreaths lay, ready to the right hands of the judges. At Olympia, the table on which the wreaths for the victors were set out, from the later part of the fifth century onward, was an elaborate piece of work by the sculptor Kolotes (Paus. 5.20.1). The less elaborate table used at the Panathenaia is shown, with the wreaths on it, on the relief, of the Roman period, which decorated one of the judge's thrones (Stuart and Revett iii, 3, p. 20, whence Norman Gardiner, *G.A.S.* 246).

For the crowning of an athlete, a black-figured amphora of panathenaic shape, in the British Museum, may be compared (B 138: Norman Gardiner, *G.A.S.* 244; *CV* pl. 4, 3); and the words of Pindar in his third Olympian ode (11-13).

What is the occasion? At the most famous of ancient sports meetings, the funeral games in honour of Pelias,¹⁵ the boxing match, according to Hyginus (146) was won by Polydeukes; and since the ἀθλα ἐπὶ Πελλίᾳ were a favourite subject with artists

from early in the sixth century onwards, that may be the occasion intended here. This was not, indeed, the only competition in which Polydeukes was said to have taken part, and according to the Orphic *Argonautica* (586-587) he won the boxing-match at another sports meeting in the story of the Argonauts, the ἀθλα ἐπὶ Κυζίκῳ. The third athletic meeting in the story is that which took place in Lemnos, the ἀθλα ἐπὶ Θόαντι, some of the victors at which are recorded by Philostratus, but not the victor in the boxing-match. The earliest authority for the Doliones and their king Kyzikos is Apollonius Rhodius, and the whole episode does not seem to be very old.¹⁶ The ἀθλα ἐπὶ Θόαντι are already in Simonides and Pindar: but there is no reference to this meeting (any more than to the ἀθλα ἐπὶ Κυζίκῳ) in extant art. Since the ἀθλα ἐπὶ Πελλίᾳ are well known to ancient artists, it is more likely that this is the meeting intended here.

If the games are those ἐπὶ Πελλίᾳ, the two judges can be named. The judge who is crowning Polydeukes must be Akastos, son of Pelias. He was an Argonaut, and if he is beardless, as we were inclined to think, that will mark him as a contemporary of Polydeukes. The bearded judge sitting beside him would then be Pheres, son of Kretheus and so half-brother to Pelias and uncle to Akastos. In the picture of the ἀθλα ἐπὶ Πελλίᾳ on the Corinthian column-krater in Berlin,¹⁷ the three judges who sit watching the chariot-race, with the prize tripods near them, are inscribed Akastos, Argeios, and Pheres. On the chest of Kypselos, Akastos stood by himself, watching the foot-race, and holding a wreath, ready to crown the victor in the race, Iphiklos.¹⁸

The presence of Argeios on the Berlin krater, as a third to Akastos and Pheres, calls for explanation. Robert has made it seem likely that he is no other than Argos, the hero who, under guidance from Athena, built ship Argo, and who himself took part in the expedition.¹⁹ As son of Phrixos son of Athamas, he would be a sort of cousin to Akastos. He appears side by side with Akastos in Apollonius Rhodius (1.224-27 and 321-26), and according to the

is preserved the inscription of the name, Polydeukes. . . . Above the inscription two other letters . . . belonging to another name . . . ΑΣ; one might think of Pelias, king of Iolkos, who was the patron of the Argonautic expedition and who protected Jason" (Arias).

(4) Similar, with the addition "The female figure might perhaps be Athena crowning Polydeukes" (Arias).

¹⁵ The ἀθλα ἐπὶ Πελλίᾳ: Robert, *Heldensage* 37-39; *AJA*

(1950) 310-11; Kunze, *Archaische Schildbänder* 177-79.

¹⁶ Radermacher, *Mythos* 190.

¹⁷ FR pl. 121, with commentary by Hauser, iii pp. 1-8.

¹⁸ Massow in *AM* 41 p. 43.

¹⁹ *Annali* (1874) 96-97: Robert takes Argeios to be a by-form of Argos, comparing the son of Medea, who is known both as Medos and as Medeios.

poet the pair were together when they joined the heroes already mustered at Pagasai.

This leads to the question, who is the third hero on our vase, standing beside Akastos and Pheres. His name ends in . . . ΑΣ (pl. 54, 6), so he cannot be Argos. If the line of his left forearm be produced upwards, one sees that there is not room for more than two letters before the ΑΣ, and [ΙΔ]ΑΣ suggests itself, Idas ὃς κάρτιστος ἐπιχθονίων γένει' ἀνδρῶν (II. 9.558). Idas and Lynkeus, as sons of Aphareus, were cousins to Polydeukes and Kastor. They fell out with them in the end, but at the time of the expedition the two pairs were still friends.

Hitherto the name has been supposed to apply to one of the seated heroes, and [ΠΕΛΙ]ΑΣ has been proposed on the ground that "he was the patron of Jason and protected him." Jason himself would have regarded that as a rather euphemistic description. If the occasion is the ἀθλα ἐπὶ Πελίας, this would make Pelias preside at his own wake. The alternative would be to postulate an unrecorded sports meeting before the sailing of Argo and the death of Pelias: but as Pelias was king he would surely have been one of the presidents and would have been given a seat. In any case four letters are far too much for the available space.

As to the bearded hero at the tripod, Arias has suggested that he is Herakles, which would at least agree with the physique. Herakles stands in a peculiar relation to the Argonautic expedition: he goes part of the way, and then is left behind; or he never goes at all; or he turns up here and there. According to Hyginus he won the pancration at the games in honour of Pelias; and, if Pausanias is to be trusted, he was present at the ἀθλα ἐπὶ Πελίας on the chest of Kypselos, though not as a competitor.²⁰ On the Ferrara vase he is dedicating the tripod he has won in the games.²¹

Fragment Y, with which we have been concerned hitherto, has the left-hand part of the picture on one side of the vase. The third fragment, Z, to which we now turn (pl. 53, fig. 1) must come from the right-hand part of the picture on the other side of the vase. The letters . . . +ΟΣ on the extreme left of the fragment (pl. 54, 5) are the end of a name, the name of a lost figure (the north and east arms of the chi are preserved, and the reading is certain). The first figure preserved on the left is a bearded

hero standing frontal (or rather, perhaps, walking to right and looking back). His hair is a little longer than that of the youthful heroes. He is wreathed, wears a chlamys, and has a petasos slung round his neck. He is called ΚΛΕΟΜΟΛΓΟΣ (pl. 54, 4 and 7), Kleomolpos, a name not recorded elsewhere. Nor is it possible to complete the fragmentary name ending in +ΟΣ. The name of the next figure is missing, but happily there can be no doubt who it is: Atalanta. She stands in front view, looking round to right, her head bent, both arms raised above her head. She is naked, but wears the tight-fitting cap—of scrum-cap type—often worn by Greek athletes, and a brassière,²² in which the stiffer band is distinguished from the thinner and softer cups covering the breasts themselves. Next comes a naked youth, stooping, to left. An inscription names him, ΙΓΓΟΜΕΝΗΣ (pl. 54, 3). From the formal point of view he is grouped with Atalanta, for his face overlaps her left breast. The little curved relief-lines below her diaphragm appear to be the tip of his left thumb.

Next, standing by himself, but looking down to left with face in three-quarter view, is another naked youth, a boxer, who is finishing the binding of his hands with the boxing-thongs. An inscription names him, ΑΜΥΚΟΣ (pl. 54, 2). (The brown streak crossing his right arm and continuing across the side of the youth to left of him is an accidental smudge.) The reserved lines to left and right of his head belong to one of those small circumscribed palmettes that are often placed below the roots of the handles in volute-kraters, especially in the Group of Polygnotos, for instance in Ferrara T. 128 (Alferi and Arias pls. 74-81) and T. 57 C VP (*ibid.* pls. 82-87). Our fragment is therefore from the right half of the picture. To right of the boxer is one of the small posts that are often shown in palaestra scenes, and to right of the post is the hand of a figure holding a helmet. To right of the hand, slight remains of what seems to be part of a garment—a wrap, perhaps, hanging over the forearm or down from the shoulders. Pillar, hand and helmet have no relief-contour. Part of this figure must have been under the handle like that of the boxer; part may already have been on the other side of the vase, but it no doubt belonged to the picture on this side. One thinks of a hoplitodromos. Athena has been sug-

described by Apollonius Rhodius.

²⁰ Massow in *AM* 41 pp. 34-37.

²¹ As tripods were dedicated to many deities there is no need to invoke, as has been done, the sacrifice to Apollo at Pagasai

²² Scrum-caps: Eckstein in *RM* 63 pp. 90-95. Brassières: Watzinger in *FR* iii pp. 322-23; and *JHS* 59 p. 23.

gested, but is most unlikely at this point of the vase, and the shape of the helmet is probably incompatible.

The woman is Atalanta, and the youth beside her is named Hippomenes by the artist. The subject ought therefore to be the preparations for the celebrated foot-race in which Hippomenes defeated Atalanta by means of the golden apples given him by Aphrodite: the same subject, then, as on a later vase, the splendid calyx-krater by the Dinos Painter in Bologna,²³ where Atalanta stands in the middle, naked, both arms raised, adjusting her cap, while Aphrodite hands the apples to Hippomenes. If that is the subject of our picture, it cannot be connected with the picture on the other side of the vase, for the race between Hippomenes and Atalanta cannot possibly be conceived as one event in the program of a sports meeting: it was essentially a contest by itself. But if the subject is the preparation for a single contest, how are we to explain the presence of a boxer, which presupposes a program of several events? There is only one explanation: the artist has misnamed the youth beside Atalanta: he is not Hippomenes but Peleus. Atalanta, as is well known, wrestled with Peleus, and won: the match was often represented in art, from the first half of the sixth century onwards.²⁴

We have been speaking of "Atalanta," but there were two Atalantas: the Boeotian heroine, the swift runner, daughter of Schoineus, and bride, in the end, of Hippomenes; and the Arcadian heroine, huntress and Argonaut, daughter of Iasios, and bride, in the end, of Melanion.²⁵ If the youth on our vase is Peleus, the woman athlete is the Arcadian Atalanta, not the Boeotian.

As to the occasion on which the match between Atalanta and Peleus took place, a Chalcidian hydria in Munich²⁶ puts it after the hunting of the Calydonian boar, in which many of the leading Argonauts took part; but according to Apollodorus the occasion was the *ἀθλα ἐπὶ Πελοῖα* (3.13.3; 3.9.2); and a fragmentary Attic vase, which shows Ata-

lanta wrestling with Peleus, and which is earlier than the Chalcidian, appears to agree:²⁷ at least Iphitos, who is among the athletes, and Asterion, who is also present, are recorded in literature as Argonauts, but not as having hunted the Calydonian boar. On the chest of Kypselos, indeed, Atalanta was not present at the *ἀθλα ἐπὶ Πελοῖα*, and the wrestlers were Peleus and Jason; nor is she present at the *ἀθλα ἐπὶ Πελοῖα* on the Corinthian krater in Berlin, where the wrestlers are Peleus and Hippalkimos. Such discrepancies might be accounted for by supposing that what is represented is not always the final, but sometimes a preliminary bout: but this is most unlikely. The fact is that the story was told in different ways. One would guess that the original account of the wrestling-match between Atalanta and Peleus did not form part of a full-length description of an athletic meeting (a description like that of the *ἀθλα ἐπὶ Πατροκλεῖ* in the *Iliad*) but filled a short light-hearted poem in which the setting was only sketched. Peleus the prince of wrestlers, who wrestled with a goddess and overcame her, but was foiled by a mortal woman. Then the picturesque episode was attached to the most celebrated of athletic meetings, the *ἀθλα ἐπὶ Πελοῖα*, and ended by supplanting the more normal encounters that had hitherto sufficed. This is surmise: the important point for us is that Atalanta and her companion are shown on our vase as taking part in a meeting composed of several events.

As to the attitude of our Atalanta, the analogy of the picture by the Dinos Painter may suggest that she is adjusting the cap on her head; but I do not find this easy to reconcile with the position of the right forearm, part of which is preserved as well as the upper arm. I have sometimes fancied that the group on a cup in Warsaw might give a clue to the attitudes of Atalanta and her companion. There, an athlete stands still and either allows another athlete to throw him or challenges him to move him from his place; there are more or less similar groups on the psykter by Phintias in Bos-

²³ Bologna 300: *Mus.It.* 2 pl. 2, whence (part) Pfuhl 578-79; part of A, *RM* 63 pl. 43, 4; *CV* pls. 86-87; *ARV* 790 no. 7.

²⁴ See *JHS* 59 pp. 28-29, and *ABV* index, s.v. Peleus; the Perachora bronze relief, *AJA* (1950) 310 and Kunze, *Archaische Schildbänder* 193.

Arias speaks of Hippomenes as an Argonaut: "A fianco del re [Amykos] resti di Ippomene che vinse Atalanta e partecipò alla spedizione degli Argonauti." I do not know what evidence there is for Hippomenes having been an Argonaut.

In the German translation of *Spina* we read: "Neben dem

König [Amykos] erkennt man Reste einer weiblichen Gestalt, nämlich Hippomene, die Atalanta besiegte und an dem Zug der Argonauten teilnahm." This heroine seems to owe her existence to the translator.

²⁵ Robert, *Heldensage* 83-84.

²⁶ Munich 596: *FR* pl. 31; Sieveking and Hackl pl. 23, 1 & p. 68; Rumpf, *Chalk. Vasen* pl. 23. See also *ibid.* p. 51.

²⁷ Athens Acr. 590: part, Graef pl. 27 and p. 64; with new fragments, *Hesperia* 9 p. 146 (Roebuck).

ton, and on the prize panathenaic amphora by Sikelos in Naples.²⁸ Either the match itself would be represented, or a playful warm-up previous to the match.

The two sides of our vase need not be connected in subject: but if our pair are Peleus and the Arcadian Atalanta, it becomes possible to link the two pictures. And there is another link, though a curious one. The boxer on the right of Atalanta is named AMVKOΣ; and Amykos has no *locus standi* in Greek legend except as the boxer who was defeated by Polydeukes. The encounter was a popular episode in the tale of the Argonauts and is at least as old as Pisander of Rhodes.²⁹

There is a complication. Negrioli, in the first publication of the fragment, noticed that the young boxer on our vase does not look in the least like the king of the Bebrykes, the brutal barbarian who forced all strangers who landed in his country to box with him and battered them to death. Well, the artist may have idealized the figure: if so, he has idealized it beyond recognition. And there is an even more serious difficulty. The contest between

Amykos and Polydeukes is inconceivable as an event in a regular sports meeting; but the young boxer on our vase is shown by the presence of Atalanta and her adversary to be taking part in just such a meeting. There is only one explanation: he is not Amykos, but a Greek hero, an Argonaut. The artist thinks of him as the boxing opponent of Polydeukes: now the boxing opponent, *par excellence*, of Polydeukes, was Amykos: the artist knew that, and so he named the figure Amykos.

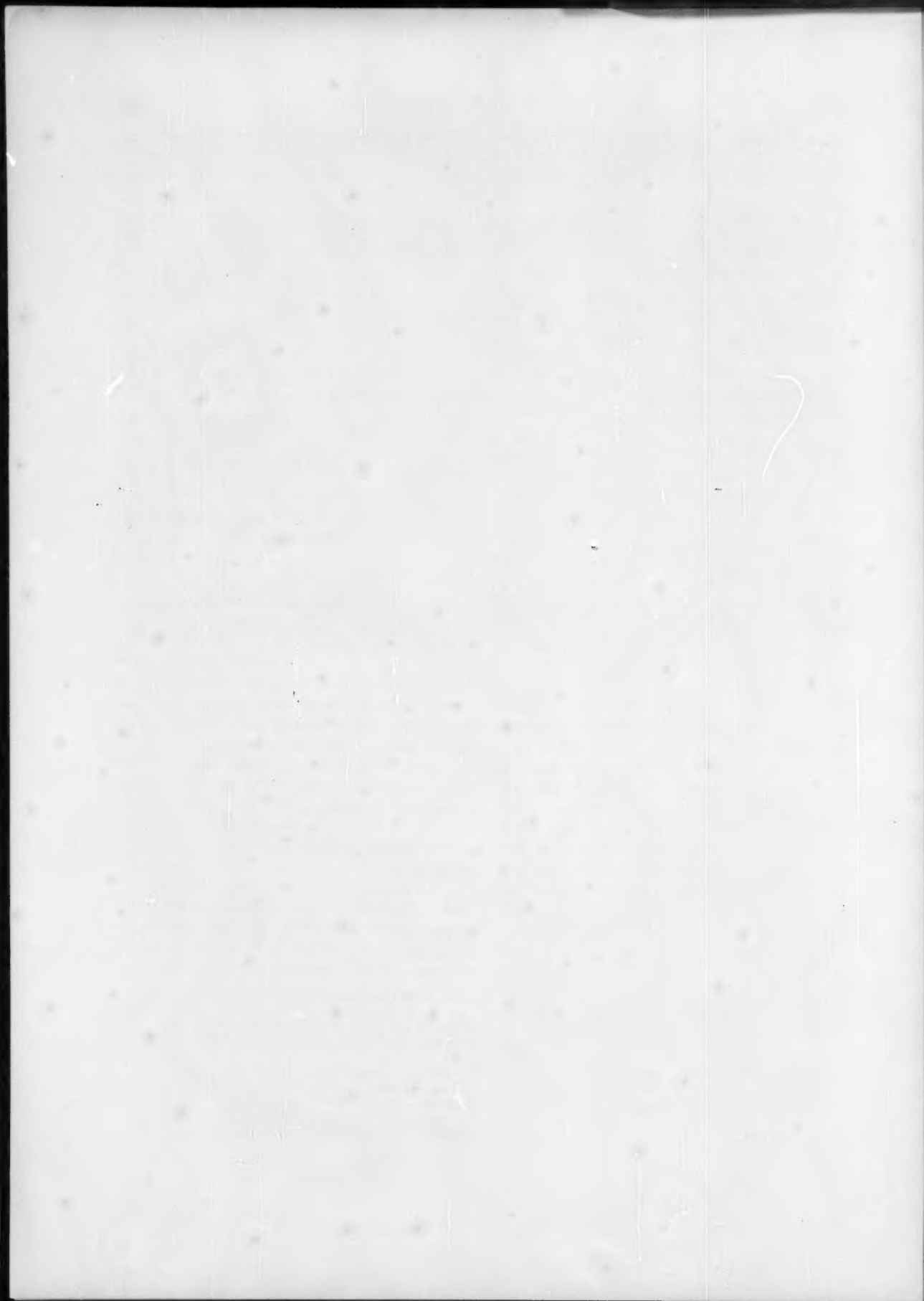
Very wrong of him, and a modern scholar would be more careful. By the way, who was the opponent of Polydeukes—the other finalist—in the boxing-match at the games in honour of Pelias? The reader may know, but there does not seem to be any evidence from antiquity. In the ἀθλα ἐπὶ Περίῳ on the chest of Kypselos the boxers were Admetos and Mopsos; and on a bronze shield-band relief in Olympia, Peloponnesian of about the second quarter of the sixth century, the boxers are Mopsos and another—the second name is illegible.³⁰

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²⁸ Warsaw, Nat. Mus., 142306 (ex Czartoryski): *CV* Goluchow pl. 39, 1. Boston 01. 8019: *A.D.* 2 pl. 20, whence Norman Gardiner, *Athl.* fig. 51; *CB* ii pl. 31, above, & pl. 32. See *ibid.* p. 3. Naples inv. 112848: Hoppin *Bf.* p. 325; part, Peters *Pan.* pl. 7, 2; *CV* Hg pl. 1, 2 and 4 and pl. 2: *ABV* 403 no. 1.

²⁹ Amykos: Robert, *Heldensage* 842-45; *E.V.P.*, index, s.v.; Gow, *Theocritus* ii pp. 399-400.

³⁰ Kunze, *Archaische Schildbänder* p. 9, III, 7 (a); pp. 177-79; p. 213; pl. 14, above.



The Gordion Campaign of 1959: Preliminary Report

RODNEY S. YOUNG

PLATES 55-62

The last week of digging in the 1957 campaign of the University Museum at Gordion exposed the east edge of a large Phrygian building, called Megaron 3, to its full length of more than 30 m.¹ As this building lay beyond the extreme edge of the excavated area, the interim campaign of 1958 was devoted to a westward expansion for subsequent deeper digging, stripping off the upper deposits of Hellenistic and Persian times to the level of the clay layer which immediately overlies the burned Phrygian city.² The first objective of the 1959 campaign was therefore to clear the remaining clay from over Megaron 3, by far the largest and most imposing structure yet found within the city. The expansion, however, was to be not only westward but also toward the south, for the 1957 campaign had opened in part three rooms of another building which stood on a terrace to the south of the Phrygian buildings already exposed. Both areas gave promise of important architectural remains, and the south rooms were known to be crammed with Phrygian pots and other objects.

These projects, however, while giving occasion to examine a greater area of the eighth century city could give no opportunity for an examination of the earlier strata beneath it. The difficulty is to find a suitable place for deeper digging to illustrate the earlier phases of Phrygian Gordion—a place in which the eighth century buildings will not have to be destroyed and from which the dug earth can be conveniently carried away. The area immediately inside the city gate gave promise of being such a place, and it had not yet been cleared to the Phrygian level. The demolition of Persian Building

C, started in 1955, was therefore completed and the area beneath it was dug. This resulted in the clearing of the south side of the "Polychrome House" just inside the city gate, partly exposed in 1955,³ and of the area to the south of it; but time did not suffice to go deeper and it is not in any case clear that this area will be suitable for a deeper sounding.

Again with the investigation of the earlier history of Gordion in view another tumulus was opened in the hope that it might prove to be older than any of the ones so far dug; but again the burial turned out to be of approximately the same period as the Phrygian tombs already dug. The examination of the earlier phases of Phrygian Gordion therefore still lies in the future; with time a suitable place will be found and the necessary investigation will be made.

We may best look at the results of the work done in 1959 area by area.⁴

THE TUMULUS

The tumulus opened in 1959 (W) lies on the crest of the ridge to the east of the city site about half a mile above the great tumulus dug in 1957. It is the second in size of the mounds in this part of the cemetery, rising to a height of about 22 m. and with a diameter at the base of about 150 m. Although this mass appeared rather formidable it seemed possible to open it by trenching from above rather than by tunnelling, and this was done. The experience of 1956 and 1957 had shown the advantages of drilling to locate in advance the positions of tombs beneath their mounds, but it had shown also that the water necessary to this method

¹ 30.40 m.; *AJA* 62 (1958) 144.

² Preliminary report by G. Edwards in *AJA* 63 (1959) 263ff: "The Gordion Campaign of 1958."

³ The 1955 campaign at Gordion, *AJA* 60 (1956) 260ff and plan, pl. 92, fig. 38.

⁴ Work at Gordion started on April first and continued until the last week in August, under the direction of the writer. J. S. Last of Episkopi, Cyprus, was again architect, and Ellen Kohler was in charge of records. Excavators were S. F. Starr and J. E. K. Wisner, of Yale, R. Ellis of the Oriental Institute,

Chicago, and O. W. Muscarella of the University of Pennsylvania. J. R. McCredie of Harvard was both excavator and photographer. Machteld Mellink of Bryn Mawr continued her work on the small mound from June to late August. Our Turkish Commissioner was Lütfi Tuğrul of the Istanbul Museum. Extended and helpful visits were made by John Dimick of New York, Frances Jones of Princeton, and Ann Knudsen of the University of Pennsylvania travelling on a grant from the A.A.U.W. To all these hearty thanks are extended for their energy and devotion.

could do damage to the tomb itself and to the things in it, and especially to furniture and other objects of wood. It was therefore decided not to drill the new mound but to open the large trench just to the southwest of center, the sector in which lay the burials beneath the mounds dug in 1956 and 1957. To save time and labor an excavating machine (called Allis-Chalmers HD-6) was brought from Ankara. It worked for twelve days in the area designated, opening a trench 16 m. wide at its base toward the north, wedge-shaped and kept open at the south so that the earth could continue to be pushed out in that direction as the trench deepened. The mound proved to be made mostly of hard clay, with occasional layers of gravel. All of the filling was remarkably clean and free of potsherds. At a depth of 11 m. from the top and near the center of the cut a round hole about 10 cm. in diameter was spotted, its sides clearly showing the imprint of a wooden mast which had once filled it. The mast itself had disintegrated completely, leaving only its mold in the hard clay that had been piled around it. The appearance of this hole was however greatly encouraging as an indication that we were digging in the right place, since a similar mast had stood over the center of the cover of the tomb under Tumulus P, dug in 1956,⁵ to serve as a guide and centering for the piling of the earth of the mound. We were able to keep track of the mast-hole as the cut deepened by stuffing it with green grass; and eventually it proved to overlie the approximate center of the tomb cover.

The excavating machine cut to a depth of about 13.50 m. from the top of the mound. Since, however, its weight was said to be about nine tons there was a danger that it might crash through into the tomb if it were allowed to cut too deep. Therefore a new trench was laid out at that level, to be dug by hand; naturally it was centered on the mast-hole. Progress by hand was much slower than with the machine, but the slower digging was also neater and more thorough, so that we were better able to check the stratification and to confirm the cleanness of the

tumulus fill—in the deeper cut, which measured 6 by 8 m. and went to a depth of 5 m. only one potsherd and one fragment of an animal bone were found. Probing the mast-hole showed that there was empty space at a depth of about 18.50 m. from the top, or 5 m. below the level to which the machine had excavated. Evidently the roof of the tomb had broken and the stone filling over it had gone down inside, leaving a void covered by a dome of clay which was the mold of the original contour of the stone-pile, as in the case of Tumulus P. The exact time of the breaking of the roof could not of course be determined, but the probability is that the collapse must have occurred fairly soon after the tumulus was made, since the tomb roof consisted of a single layer of wooden beams only 22 cm. thick, and over this rubble had been piled to a maximum depth of about 4.50 m.⁶ The great depth of this stone pile posed difficult problems of digging; the hollow space above the tomb was only 1.30 m. deep, leaving still 3.20 m. of stone above roof-level. The edges of the heap of loose stones extended far beyond the limits of our cut and the rubble ran down toward the center as we dug, leaving unsupported hollow caves at each side. To remedy this square frames were constructed of heavy planks 10 cm. in thickness, to hold back the loose stones. The first frame had to be sunk as the hole deepened by taking out stones from beneath and pounding it down (as gently as possible) with the sledge-hammer while a new frame was laid on top of it. We could only hope that in the end the whole extent of the tomb might be included within the protected area of our "coffer dam"—a square 5 m. on a side and eventually four frames, or about 1.50 m. deep. The tomb was finally found to be oriented almost east-west and to lie within the enclosure except at the corners, where wedge-shaped gaps had to be plugged. At this level of about 23 m. below the top of the mound we were evidently also below the surface of the hardpan, estimated to lie at about minus 22 m. The tomb had been set down into a pit dug for it below ground level in the usual manner of the Phrygian burials.

⁵ *AJA* 61 (1957) 325, and there reference to the mast over Koerte Tumulus III (Koerte, *Gordion* 39ff).

⁶ The problem of clearing and preserving the much more impressive tomb beneath the great tumulus, now undertaken by the Turkish Government, has been discussed with many engineers. Here the clay dome molded over the surface of the stone-pile must have a span of 12-15 m., and the engineers differ sharply as to the strength and trustworthiness of a dome of hard clay which has been compacted by pressure over a

long period. Our present tumulus shows the same sort of clay dome, which has stood without support to span open space about 6 m. in diameter ever since the collapse of the tomb roof removed the support of the cap of the stone-pile. That the lightness of the wooden roof and the great depth of the stone-pile resting on it suggests a collapse very soon after the tumulus was made has already been mentioned. Moreover, in our present tumulus a 9-ton excavating machine was able to work to a depth of only 5 m. above the top of the void space.

The filling between the outside of the tomb and the sides of the pit in which it stood was of very much bigger stones than the loose rubble of fist-size stones that had been piled over it, and this filling had a certain stability which minimized the pressure against the walls of the structure from the outside, and at the same time afforded a fairly trustworthy bed for the plugging of the gaps at the corners. In this way we were enabled to clear the burial; but the great depth of nearly 25 m. to the top of the cut, the cracks which appeared in the clay near the top as it was baked by exposure to the July sun, the mass of unstable rubble more than 3 m. deep, the hollow caves at each side from which it had run out, and the dubious security of the plug at each of the four corners united to strike terror to the hearts of workmen and staff alike. The operation seemed so perilous that the tumulus was usually referred to by its nickname, Pauline, rather than by its official title, W (pl. 55, fig. 1).⁷

The wooden tomb, oriented nearly east-west, measured 4.62 by 3.30 m. inside with a height from floor to roof of 1.55 m. The floor consisted of a series of planks—probably eleven altogether though only nine were visible in the interior—5 cm. in thickness and of varying width, laid lengthwise on a bed of rubble. The ends of this floor were supported beneath on split logs laid crosswise in the rubble with the flat cut faces upward. On this platform the tomb itself was constructed out of very heavy planks rather than full beams. The thickness of these was determined by boring at three sides: at the north 30 cm., at the west 18 cm., and at the south 25 cm. The widths of the planks varied, the widest, at the west end, measuring 62 cm. There were no signs of mortises at the corners. At both ends the planks of the end-walls overlapped the ends of those of the long walls and were no doubt held in place by the pressure of the rubble outside. The long walls, despite the apparent lack of any support against pressure from outside, had not shifted and still stood firm and true. It is probably necessary to imagine, therefore, a second outer wall

to take this pressure along each of the long sides, its ends overlapping the ends of the shorter walls and like them held in position by the pressure of the outside rubble, which was thus kept off the inner long walls. It was impossible to verify the existence of long outer side-walls by an investigation which might have started a ruinous slide in the loose rubble.

The end walls of the tomb were carried to greater height than the sides and the thirteen cover beams, 22 cm. in thickness, had been laid across the width of the structure from side to side, framed at the ends between the upward projections of the end walls. The huge weight of the rubble piled over the tomb had snapped off the rather light roof timbers sheer at both ends, and most of them lay flat over the floor (pl. 55, fig. 1). Only at the east and west ends did the broken roof beams lie at a slope indicating that they were supported by something underneath. On lifting them we found as anticipated that the burial offerings lay at both ends and that the center of the chamber was clear. At the west six coarse amphoras stood in a row against the end wall (pl. 55, fig. 2) all more or less crushed by the weight of the fallen roof. The skeleton, badly crushed, lay on the floor at the center of the tomb (plan, pl. 55, fig. 3), the skull toward the west. The body had evidently been laid directly on the floor without coffin or bier, perhaps on a cloth spread to receive it. The original position could not be determined; the bones, in fact, were so badly crushed and splintered that Professor Şenyürek could identify it only as an adult without venturing to say whether male or female. Around the waist had been a wide belt of red leather elaborately decorated with bronze studs set in complicated patterns (pl. 58, fig. 4) very much like those of the "flaps" found in 1957 in the Royal Tomb,⁸ the heads of the studs varying from nearly a centimeter to a millimeter in diameter. Near the left shoulder and elbow of the skeleton lay bronze fibulae, suggesting that the body had been dressed in a sleeved garment, probably of linen. Many more fibulae, to a total of thirty-four, were

⁷ The alphabetical series started in 1950 with Tumulus A is limited to the main cemetery on the east ridge along the course of the Royal Road. Of this series one (L) remains undug because it is covered by a house of the modern village. The letter O was given to the Galatian stone tomb on the west side of the Sakarya River, and the letter V was left unused to avoid confusion with Koertes' fifth tumulus (Roman V). In addition to the unlettered royal tomb mound (called MM—Midas Mound) one more, a large unfinished mound called KY, was dug in

this area. We therefore have dug to date a total of 25 grave mounds: 22 in the main cemetery, one on the far side of the river, and two on the south ridge (S1 and S2). Some of these were, of course, very small.

⁸ *AJA* 62 (1958) 152 and pl. 26, fig. 19. Miss Bellinger of the Textile Museum in Washington has shown that the patterns encircling the large bronze studs are not woven or knotted, but made up of minuscule bronze studs set on the leather backing.

found scattered at the east end of the tomb, the types in general the same as those found in the Royal Tomb and in Koerte Tumulus III.

The main offerings of the burial occupied the east end of the tomb. Four or more large coarse amphoras stood in a row against the east wall. Like the ones at the west end they had probably contained offerings of food for the dead. A pile of wooden slats which lay near them had once belonged to round trays or platters such as were found in the child's tomb in 1956. Near the southeast corner lay two bucket-handled bronze bowls, badly crushed, with bird-protome handle attachments. In the corner itself were two cauldrons, each with two bull-head attachments holding carrying rings. One of the cauldrons lay on its side with the opening toward the east wall, while the other was upside-down with its mouth toward the floor. Each had been wrapped in linen cloth, and each had obviously been violently jolted from its original position by the collapse of the tomb roof. What the original arrangement had been it was impossible to tell; no traces were found of iron ring-stands such as supported the cauldrons in the Royal Tomb. But these cauldrons must once have stood upright, perhaps on the floor, for each was packed with smaller vessels of pottery or bronze. The cauldron in the corner contained two painted pottery jugs; that to the west of it held a jug of black-polished ware and nineteen smaller bronze vessels. These included a spouted jug with handle rotelles, a stemmed jug with round mouth, two ladles, five plain and eight omphalos bowls of which one was horizontally ribbed, and two relief bowls. The small vessels were found in general in good condition because they had been protected by the bronze cauldrons in which they had been stowed. The cauldrons themselves, however, were of very thin bronze which had become highly brittle; they were unable, actually, to support the weight of their own handles which broke off as soon as they were freed of the fallen wood and stones in which they were embedded.

Just to the west of the cauldrons a large fragment of wooden furniture lay on the floor. This was preserved to its full width of 0.77 m. but broken off at both ends. It consisted of open-work elabo-

ately decorated with large bronze studs arranged at the corners of the openings. Though the fragment was in very bad condition and it was not possible to be entirely sure, it did seem that the wood was in one piece with fretwork decoration made by cutting out bits of square and other shapes. Oblong panels were decorated alternately with cut-out checkerboard, lozenge, and variations on a spoked concentric circle design, the solid part thickly encrusted at the surface with hemispherical bronze studs. A westward prolongation of the preserved bit overlying the floor and so crushed that it was impossible to preserve or lift it showed that the complete object had been greater in length than in width and therefore probably a screen like those found in the great tumulus and in the child's grave. This impression was strengthened by the finding of a rounded foot such as decorated the lower corners of the screens already known.⁹ Mr. Last's restored drawing of the preserved piece (pl. 56, fig. 5) gives some impression of what the original appearance must have been; complete, it probably resembled the screen from the child's tomb.

The new tomb contained other objects which, like the furniture, find close parallels in the late eighth century burials already explored. The painted jug (pl. 56, fig. 6) with its exaggeratedly long spout (which is stepped on its upper surface to make six "waterfalls") is of the typical Phrygian black-on-buff fabric. Its decoration is purely geometric and without animal figures; it finds its best parallels among the painted vessels from Koerte Tumulus III.¹⁰ More unusual at Gordion is the companion piece (pl. 56, fig. 7), a round-mouthed jug with a side spout at the level of the rim decorated with geometric designs in a bichrome technique in which red paint alternates with the black or overlies it to make polychrome bands. Type and decoration are surprising at Gordion at this time, but the arrangement of spout and handle, set at an angle to each other (instead of opposite) is so characteristically Phrygian that there can be little doubt that this vessel too was a product of the local workshops. One assumes that the purpose of this arrangement of handle and spout was to enable a drinker to pour directly from the spout into his mouth; the handle invariably lies at the right, to be grasped by the

⁹ From the Royal Tomb, *AJA* 62 (1958) pl. 27, fig. 24; from Tumulus P, *AJA* 61 (1957) frontispiece and pl. 96, figs. 37-38. The latter was made of long pieces running vertically, parallel to each other and held apart by squares of wood dowelled be-

tween them at regular intervals to give the same checkerboard effect of alternately open and solid squares as in the cut-out work of the new fragment of furniture.

¹⁰ Koerte, *Gordion*, Taf. III and figs. 21-23, pp. 57-58.

right hand. The same arrangement may be seen in the bronze jug (pl. 56, fig. 8) from the new grave, and two similar spouted bronze jugs, one of them with a lid, were found in 1957 in the Royal Tomb. A number of small side-spouted jugs of black-polished pottery were included among the objects found in 1956 in Tumulus P.

The bronze bowls from the new tomb, plain or with central omphalos, parallel those from the Royal Tomb, from Tumulus P, and from Koerte Tumulus III, though in general they are smaller and of lighter fabric. There were no examples of the petalled "Phrygian Lotos" type so common in the Royal Tomb, and only one of the horizontally ribbed kind; most of them were plain, though with the omphalos on a platform surrounded by varying numbers of raised rings. The relief bowls were of new types. The larger, a deep and slightly pointed bowl with a central omphalos, is covered with a relief pattern which resembles the surface of a pine cone (pl. 56, fig. 9). Perhaps it was imported from Assyria or made under Assyrian influence, for an earlier bowl from Assur now in Berlin though of utterly different shape bears the same relief decoration.¹¹ The two ladles are of the same type as those found in all of the Gordion tumuli cited above, with deep round bowl, tanged at the rim where the flat handle joins, and with the upper end of the handle bent back to make a hook. One of the new ladles, however, on being cleaned revealed the finely engraved features of lion-heads. The one at the lower end of the handle (pl. 56, fig. 10) appears to grip in its mouth the tang on the rim of the bowl. This detail seems (to the writer) to illustrate the same kind of humorous imagination that was capable of creating goose-shaped painted vessels for the use of a child.

The bull-head cauldron attachments differ somewhat in detail from those of the cauldron found in the Royal Tomb. The holders on top which served to attach the swivelling ring handles are common to the bull-heads of the other Gordion cauldrons and to the perhaps Phrygian bull-cauldron in Copenhagen,¹² and these differentiate the Phrygian vessels from the ringless bull-heads attributed to the Urartian workshops. The brows of the bulls from

the new cauldrons are furrowed by deeply curved triple grooves as different from the neat triangular forelocks of the other Phrygian bulls as from the doubly-fringed square bangs of the Urartian examples. But these bull-heads are more interesting from a technical point of view than from a stylistic, and it is by no means certain that they were intended to be used as cauldron attachments when they were first made. Miss Knudsen's section (pl. 55, fig. 11) shows as much as can be seen at present of their make-up: a heavy inner casting, probably made in one piece with the ring-holder above, and an outer sheathing of thin bronze whose flared edges were fastened by rivets to the shoulder of the cauldron. The casting itself appears to have been hollow at the back and filled with a black waxy substance, but over this melted lead was poured to fill most of the space between the back of the casting and the rim of the "cup" formed by the edge of the outer shell, and the lead effectively conceals the exact structure and relationship of the various parts. In places on one example where the outer sheathing is broken away it is possible to see, however, that the inner cast piece is of a slightly different color from the sheath (whether this difference be due to a different alloy of bronze, or to different chemical reactions in the course of time by the exposed outer surface and by the protected inner core), and that the surface of the inner cast piece is as finely worked in detail as that of the outer sheath. The most likely hypothesis is that the outer sheathing was made by hammering a thin bronze plate over the surface of the cast bull-head, its flange and spreading edges serving to adjust the flat back of the casting to the curving surface of the cauldron shoulder. Difficulty was of course encountered with the projecting horns and ears and with the ring-attachment above, which could hardly be sheathed by hammering thin bronze over their surfaces. In these places the plate was probably slit, or pierced by holes through which the projecting members were passed; and at one place on one of the bull-heads there seems to be visible a surface seam in the bronze at an appropriate spot. The purpose of this unique and elaborate arrangement is difficult to understand unless it was an adjustment made to

¹¹ H. Lushey, *Die Phiale* no. 13; abb. 13a-c, and p. 34. The bowl bears the name Assur Taklak, who seems to be dated at the end of the ninth century.

¹² The bull-head cauldron from the Royal Tomb, *AJA* 62 (1958) pl. 26, fig. 18. The Copenhagen cauldron said to be from Italian Cumae is best illustrated, together with Urartian

examples, by P. Amandry in *The Aegean and the Near East: Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman* 239ff and pls. XXIV-XXXII. Additional Urartian specimens are discussed and illustrated by G. Hanfmann, *Anatolian Studies* 6 (1956) 205ff and pls. XVII-XIX.

fasten a cast bull-head, originally intended for some other use, to the curved surface of a cauldron.

Tumulus W (or Pauline) because of its many parallels to objects found in the Royal Tomb and in Tumulus P as well as in Koerte Tumulus III should be assigned to the same period and probably to the last quarter of the eighth century. Although it disappointed our hopes of finding a burial of a noticeably earlier date than those already known, it provided us with a number of new and variant objects which cannot help but widen our picture of Phrygian culture at Gordion in immediately pre-Kimmerian times.

CITY MOUND: HELLENISTIC AND ARCHAIC LEVELS

In the areas overlying the west side of Megaron 3 and the Terrace Building at the south it was necessary to make new cuts starting from the surface. Again the small finds confirmed our impression that habitation came to an end over the greater part of the mound early in the second century before Christ.¹³ The remains of houses of the late fourth and third centuries were of light construction—largely reused material—and scattered as in an open agricultural village rather than a thickly settled town. The usual four uppermost layers were found and cleared. Of these the lowest (IV) represents the Graeco-Phrygian settlement of the years after the passage of Alexander; the next (III) the third century settlement; above that, (II) the Galatian settlement; and the uppermost (I) the accumulation of ages after the abandonment of the site.

Characteristic of the second or Galatian level are beehive-shaped clay ovens. Examples of these were found in 1957 and 1958, and this year four more were uncovered. These ovens are circular or oval in shape, usually with an inside diameter of 60-80 cm., built up of superimposed coils of clay and covered inside with clay plaster. That they were set down into pits below ground-level is shown by the reddening of the surrounding earth outside, caused by the heat of the fires. At one side at floor-level there was usually a small door intended probably for ventilation since it was always too small to allow passage of fuel or other matter. Two of the ovens

of this type (a twin construction) uncovered in 1959 were further ventilated through vents connected with clay water-pipes which had been reused as flues (pl. 57, fig. 12). Such small ovens were evidently used for cooking. The domes were probably incomplete and open at the top so that fuel or food to be baked could be put in from above. During the baking the opening could be closed by a flat stone or the like; for boiling a pot could doubtless be set right over the hole.

A wall of sun-dried bricks of which the face was exposed in the western scarp in 1958 proved, not unexpectedly, to be one side of a brick-lined storage pit set down from above and belonging to the third level. The inside faces of the walls were plastered with clay and a cross-wall divided the interior into two compartments. The floor was of crude brick; and between the floor-bricks of one compartment a few remaining grains of wheat suggested that the lined pit had been used for the storage of grain. Although Livy reports that at the time of Manlius Volso's visit Gordion was an important market,¹⁴ its interests were probably mainly agricultural, and perhaps much of its trade was in kind rather than through the use of money. Nevertheless the 1959 campaign brought to light two hoards of silver coins, the third and fourth to be found so far at Gordion.¹⁴ The first of the new hoards was contained in a small black-glazed feeding bottle which lacked its spout. The pot had been buried in a hole under the floor of a modest house belonging to the second level. It contained forty-two silver tetradrachms; of these thirty-six were of Alexander, one of Lysimachus, one of Seleukos I, and four of Philip III. Most of these coins were much worn and many had been punched or clipped to test the silver. Coming as they do from the second level below the surface they may represent a part of the "take" of the Galatians, who were notorious predators. The second new hoard was found a few days later in the same area but in somewhat ambiguous circumstances so that it is not possible to assert definitely whether it belonged to the second level or the third. The hoard had evidently been disturbed in antiquity, presumably by diggers in search of building ma-

¹³ Livy 38.18. Manlius Volso, leading a Roman army to chastise the Galatians in 189 B.C. found Gordion abandoned, but full of supplies of all sorts. It was an important market. Evidently the Galatians did not come back after the passage of the Roman army.

¹⁴ The two new hoards will be studied and published by Dorothy Cox from casts made by Frances Jones during her stay

at Gordion. The coins themselves are now in the Ankara Museum. Of the two previous hoards one, consisting of 110 Persian silver sigloi (AJA 62 [1958] 141) is under study; the first has been published by Dorothy H. Cox, *A Third Century Hoard of Tetradrachms from Gordion*, in the University Museum Monograph series.

terial for reuse. The coarse jug which contained the coins had been broken and some of its fragments scattered, others lost. While most of the coins still lay inside the largest fragment, others had also been scattered when the pot was broken. Evidently the later diggers had overlooked the hoard when they disturbed it in the course of their operations; probably everything was hidden by loose dirt. Altogether 50 silver drachmae were recovered, six or seven scattered outside, the rest still in the pot. These again were mostly coins of Alexander—all but three which were of Lysimachus. Most of them were fresh and in an excellent condition quite in contrast to the worn and battered state of the specimens from the other hoard, and this makes it likely that they belonged to the third or pre-Galatian level. The coins of the first hoard are quite comparable to the late-third century hoard already published; the Galatians seem to have been distrustful and inclined to test the silver of the coins that came into their hands.

At the level of the Archaic City the clearing of the westernmost building so far exposed, M, was completed. The building was of the usual plan with cella and pronaos, oriented toward the northeast and 20.50 m. in length by 12.65 m. in width. Its pronaos was paved with a pebble mosaic floor showing geometric designs. Like all the buildings of the Persian City it had been thoroughly looted for building material in later times; only at the west side and the southeast corner were its foundations preserved to ground-level, and nothing remained that had stood above ground. At the south another building, N, had been even more thoroughly looted, with foundations preserved only at the east side and northeast corner. Since this building lay on a comparatively light bed of rubble less than a meter deep, it is unlikely that the full plan will be recoverable. At the east the easternmost Persian level building, L, was taken out.¹⁵ The importance of this operation lay in clearing by the removal of Building L of the southward return of the retaining wall of the Phrygian terrace at its east end (plan, pl. 57, fig. 16). The demolition of Building C has already been mentioned: a tedious process, since the foundations stood in places to a height of twelve courses of large squared blocks, many of them of very hard red andesite. Beneath these was the usual bed of rubble nearly 2 m. in depth. A change of

plan during the construction of the building was suggested by the observation that the lowermost layers of this rubble bedding did not coincide with the line taken by the cross-wall between cella and pronaos above but lay farther out toward the north; evidently the change in plan involved a deepening of the pronaos. The filling inside the building was entirely of hard clay which yielded only irrelevant Hittite potsherds, and nothing was found that could help in dating the original construction of Building C.

THE PHRYGIAN GATE

The clearing of the Phrygian city gate at the east side of the mound in 1953 and 1955 opened the deep passageway of the gate proper, disclosed the scanty remains of the cross-wall at its inner end, and freed the north court of the building, which opened inward toward the city.¹⁶ At the entrance to the gateway it was then possible to clear the south edge of a ramp 6 m. in length which approached the gate from the east, and a probing at the angle between the south face of this ramp and the face of the city wall just to the south of the opening of the gateway showed that the rubble filling piled in to bed the later gate building goes to a depth of more than 2.50 m. below the level of the Phrygian gateway at its entrance. Deeper digging at that time was prevented by the appearance of ground-water and by the smallness of the area available for work, an area which was in any case constantly threatened by the danger of falls in the rubble which towered above to a height of more than 9 m. It has always seemed desirable, however, to clear an area outside the city wall in order to establish the original ground-level outside the Phrygian city, and to determine whether the fortifications included an outside moat or ditch. A clearing operation of this sort must in its nature be tedious to a degree, involving nothing more than the taking out and carting away of the built rubble under the east side of the Persian gate building, to a depth of more than 9 and probably as much as 12 m. Earlier operations outside the Phrygian gate had done nothing more than open a deep narrow trench to accommodate the Decauville railway for carrying away the materials taken from within the gateway itself. In the course of time the deep rubble at the south had started to come down, partially blocking access to the gate-

¹⁵ A plan of the archaic city is given in *AJA* 63 (1959) pl. 63, fig. 3.

¹⁶ *AJA* 59 (1955) 12ff and figs. 26-27; 60 (1956) 257ff and pls. 87-90, figs. 25-33.

way from the east and again burying the ramp under a deep layer of fallen stones. It was therefore decided to take out the rubble at the south outside the gate, clearing down gradually over a period of time and as labor was available in the hope of eventually reaching the original outside ground-level. At the north side the rubble is more stable and supports important walls still preserved of the Persian Gate Building. During the 1959 campaign a thirty-meter stretch of the outer face of the Phrygian city wall to the south of the opening of the gate was cleared down to the level of the upper step in the wall face—a depth of slightly more than 6 m. below its preserved top (pl. 59, fig. 13). The rubble contained no potsherds other than a few in pockets at the surface, intrusive from Hellenistic times. It was laced with wooden tree-trunks laid in the stone as binders to prevent sliding and thus to take some of the pressure from behind the stepped terrace wall which retained the rubble at the east. Two dozen or more such timbers were taken from the rubble, some in a good state of preservation. It is hoped that a dendrochronological examination of these may show that they cross with specimens taken from the Royal Tomb. If they do cross it may be possible to estimate almost to the year the interval between the building of the tomb and the laying of the rubble bed for the archaic city wall. Our clearing showed also that the upper step in the face of the Phrygian city wall extends southward to a distance of 5.45 m. from the opening of the gateway and there ends. Our work, while showing clearly the extent of this step, has thus far failed in clarifying its purpose. Deeper digging in future will no doubt show whether the lower step also breaks off at the same point as the upper. The work done thus far has revealed an impressive stretch of the upper part of the city wall to the south of the gate.

POLYCHROME HOUSE

A building immediately inside the Phrygian Gate was partly dug in 1955. It was at that time named the Polychrome House because its north wall is built of blocks of bright red poros bedded on blocks of white poros; the west and south walls are made with rough blocks of a hard slate-blue stone.²⁷ Evi-

dently it shared a common wall at the east with the Phrygian gate—the cross-wall of the gateway itself. The removal of Persian Building C this year enabled us to clear the rest of the Polychrome House and to determine its relation to the Phrygian Gate Building.

The building was a four-sided trapezoid slightly wider at the west than at the east (14.50 m. as against 13.90 m.), and with a depth of 10.25 m. All four inside corners form slightly obtuse angles (plan, pl. 57, fig. 14).²⁸ The doorway in its east wall was the actual gate of the Phrygian Gate Building; in the Polychrome House it was echoed by a similar doorway, probably of the same width, through the west wall. The central part of the Polychrome House was thus a sort of passageway connecting the city gate with the inner town, and the building itself may have been a kind of inner pylon or guardroom. Long wooden beams set in the floor at either side divide the interior into central nave and side aisles. At four places these beams were flanked at either side by short wooden pieces laid parallel to them. In 1955 we were inclined to bed interior walls of crude brick on the long beams, and to interpret the short side-pieces as beds for the thresholds of doorways connecting the central passage with rooms at the sides. In the light of later experience and the arrangements in Megaron 3 (see below), however, we are now more inclined to bed wooden posts on the wooden beams at the four points where they are strengthened by the additional pieces at the sides. Whatever the arrangement of the structure carried on these wooden beams—whether four posts or brick walls pierced by four doorways—it seems obvious that it was intended to help support a roof by dividing the very considerable north-south width to be spanned. The roof may have been flat, but it seems more natural to restore a double-pitched roof with the ridge-beam running east-west. A roof pitched the other way would drain over the doorways at either side, and in any case it is unlikely that the roof rose to the full height of the cross-wall of the Phrygian gate at the east, the top of which had to be accessible for purposes of defense. A covered building of this sort, whatever form its roof may have taken, immediately

²⁷ *AJA* 60 (1956) 260ff and pls. 91, figs. 39-40 and 92, fig. 38.

²⁸ The Persian drain or "grease pit" has been omitted from this plan for clarity. It is, however, on the plan *AJA* 60 (1958) pl. 92, fig. 38, and the photograph pl. 90, fig. 37. The present plan should probably be corrected to show the restored reveals

of the doorway between Polychrome House and Phrygian Gate as taking their orientation from the latter, which is also the orientation of the bed-beam on which the north reveal rested. The bed-beam for the southern reveal (obliterated by the later Persian operations) should be restored parallel to the northern.

inside the city gate and extending it inward, must have been for the use of the military perhaps as a guard room.

The change in orientation between the city gate and the Polychrome House, and the light and rather sloppy construction of the latter as compared with the massive masonry of the gate building inclined us to think in 1955 that the Polychrome House was a late addition. One of the puzzling features at that time was that, except at the northwest corner, we could find no back face for the north wall—instead there was a line of six post-holes for very heavy vertical timbers. Again experience over the years in digging the buildings of the Phrygian city has come to our aid by showing that Phrygian terrace walls usually have but one face, an outer face, and that the inner face may lie at a much higher level, bedded on the filling which is retained by the outer. Thus the outer (north) face of the retaining wall of the south terrace stands to a height of nearly three meters or twelve courses, while its inner (south) face begins only a course or two below the level of the terrace floor and is bedded on the filling of the terrace. In the case of the Polychrome House both north and south wall were evidently retaining walls of this sort. To the north lay the terrace in front of the north court of the gate building, at an average level about 1 m. higher than the floor of the Polychrome House (which slopes upward from east to west), while at the south the terrace outside the south court lay at an average level more than 2 m. higher than the floor of the Polychrome House. Both walls were therefore retaining walls for the terraces to north and south as well as bearing walls for the roof of the house itself. The rows of heavy posts set in the rubble—seven were discovered behind the south wall of the Polychrome House—served to take some of the pressure from behind these terrace walls. The walls themselves moreover were strengthened by exceptionally heavy vertical posts—or more probably pairs of posts—set in their inner faces, three at each side. The outer faces of both walls, which have completely disappeared (with the exception already noted) must then have been bedded at a relatively high level on top of the rubble filling of the terraces.

At the south the intimate connection between the Polychrome House and the south court of the gate building was revealed, and this connection indicates

that the two structures were contemporary. The level of the terrace floor outside the south court is shown by the masonry of its west wall, which is smooth and nicely finished to a certain level below which the faces of the blocks were left rough. Evidently the upper part was meant to be seen while the lower was concealed beneath the floor of the terrace. But the actual wall foundation goes only one course below this intended ground-level, and the lowest course rests on the terrace filling, which is retained at the north by the south wall of the Polychrome House. If anything, then, the south court of the Phrygian gate should be later rather than earlier than the Polychrome House; but the probability is that they were contemporaneous and parts of the same building operation. This probability is borne out by the fact that the terrace in front of the south court was supported at the west by a retaining wall which was the southward prolongation of the west wall of the Polychrome House, built in identical construction with rough blocks of slate-blue stone. This terrace wall represents an early phase in the development of the Phrygian city. We have been able to trace it southward to a point where it was cut through to give passage for the retaining wall of the south Phrygian terrace (plan, pl. 57, fig. 16).

Against the face of this terrace wall at the west, and just to the south of the corner of the Polychrome House (plan, pl. 57, fig. 14) the foundation of a light shedlike structure was uncovered. This had evidently been demolished at some time when the whole area between the terrace at the east and the brick building at the west (plan, pl. 57, fig. 16) was filled in to make a new high terrace, perhaps an extension of the south Phrygian terrace. A certain amount of pottery found inside the shed and buried under the later terrace filling is of interest as belonging to an intermediate step in the development of the town and representing a phase of Phrygian ceramics older than that of the pottery found so abundantly in the houses destroyed by the Kimmerian raid of the early seventh century. The best pieces from this deposit were of the well-known Alişar painted ware,¹⁹ kraters decorated with deer and concentric circles (pl. 58, fig. 15). Several fragments were found in the shed, and more, scattered in the filling of the Polychrome House, probably came originally from the same deposit.

¹⁹ Alisar IV ware; cf. *OIP* 19, 244, fig. 317 and 249 figs. 322-23; see also Ekrem Akurgal, *Phrygische Kunst* 1ff, figs. 1-9,

and Taf. 1-6: "Frühphrygischer Stil."

The area to the west of the Polychrome House has not been completely investigated as yet, nor is it thoroughly understood. An impression emerges, however, and is strengthened as the area is cleared, that the east gate of the city became of less importance with the passage of time. In the later phases there seems to have been no way of direct access from the gateway to the high terrace at the south—nor, indeed, to the south court of the gate building itself. The south terrace seems to have been extended northward to occupy all of the area as far as the northeast corner of the brick building. The northern limit of this extension would have taken a line from that point eastward to the corner of the Polychrome House, or to the south side of its inner doorway. Such an arrangement would seriously curtail the open space within the city gate, originally conceived on a monumental scale. The open area was in any case further curtailed at the west by the late enclosure wall laid on top of the stone paving and running northward from the same corner of the brick building (plan, pl. 57, fig. 16). The east gate was evidently becoming a little-used back door to the city. The orientation of all the important buildings of the Phrygian town, toward the northeast, including Megaron 3, suggests the existence of another and more important gate which gave access to the city from the north.

THE ENCLOSURE WALL OF MEGARON 3

The very heavy wall 2.80 m. in thickness which lies between Megaron 3 and the Mosaic Building (or West Phrygian House) was evidently an enclosure wall belonging to the former (plan, pl. 57, fig. 16). At the time when the south terrace was made this wall was demolished and its stump was buried beneath terrace filling carried northward between the two buildings as far as the cross-wall between their north ends. A staircase added outside the cross-wall gave access from the north to the higher level of this long spur of the new terrace.²⁰ The finding of a number of fragments of sculptured orthostate blocks in the area of the northern part of this wall led us to believe that its continuation northward from the cross-wall had been left intact when the terrace at the south was made, and that a monumental gateway, perhaps the source of the

carved slabs, pierced it farther to the north. Such a gateway would have given access from the paved area at the east (the paving ends against the east face of the enclosure wall) to the enclosed area at the west in which stood Megaron 3. An often-noted parallelism in plan between the Phrygian city and its archaic successor further led us to expect that a door or gateway might lie at this point in the Phrygian enclosure wall. Its successor in the Persian city was the enclosure wall which divided the inner gate-court from the city at the west,²¹ and that was pierced by a small pylon or gate building just north of the point to which the Phrygian level had been cleared. The northern limit of our deep cuts had been set by the line at which we found the stone paving of the earlier city to have been ripped up by later plunderers, so that it was with some trepidation that we started a new northward cut over the line of the Phrygian enclosure wall in search of more sculptured orthostates, or at least an indication that the expected gateway had existed at this point. In the former we were disappointed; for the latter we secured sufficient evidence that a gate had existed at this point, almost directly underneath its Persian successor. Wall and paving had as foreseen been badly plundered, the former to below its ground-level. The wall had been bedded as was customary in Phrygian as in Persian times on a series of timbers laid parallel to each other and across the line of the wall which rested on them. The succession of beds left by these parallel timbers could be clearly seen up to a certain point beyond which they were succeeded by timbers laid in the opposite direction—in the direction of the line of the wall. At the point of this change in the direction of the bed timbers, moreover, there were two large and deep holes, one in the line of either face of the wall. The interpretation of these remains seems clear: a wall built on top of the cross-beds; at its end two heavy wooden posts, one at either side of the reveal of a doorway; and bedded on the timbers laid lengthwise were the blocks or wooden planking of the threshold of the door. This evidence indicates that we have definitely the bed for the south jamb or reveal of a doorway and not an actual wall-end; otherwise there would be no beds for a threshold. The thoroughly plundered state of

²⁰ *AJA* 62 (1958) 143ff and pls. 20, fig. 2 and 21, fig. 6; also pl. 22, fig. 5.

²¹ *AJA* 61 (1957) 319ff and pl. 87, fig. 2; general plan of the archaic level *AJA* 63 (1959) pl. 63, fig. 3. The five-meter

grid indicated on the archaic plan, fig. 3, and on the Phrygian plan, fig. 2, may suggest how closely earlier and later enclosure walls coincided.

this expected opening in the enclosure wall could afford no evidence as to whether the sculptured orthostate blocks came from this gate; still, the probability remains that they did.

MEGARON 3

The building that lay within the enclosure, Megaron 3, was oriented toward the northeast, its long east wall (30.40 m. in length) parallel to the enclosure wall (plan, pl. 57, fig. 16). The Mosaic Building or West Phrygian House outside the enclosure at the east had a slightly different orientation and was probably of somewhat later construction. It proved impossible in 1959 to clear Megaron 3 completely and about a quarter of its area at the northwest remains to be dug out, but since the plan seems to be perfectly regular, a fairly safe restoration can be made.

Immediately under the clay put down as a bed for the archaic city Megaron 3 lay buried beneath the burned debris from its own destruction. This burned deposit varied in thickness. At the south it was nearly 2 m. deep because the south wall had fallen inward; northward its surface sloped downward to a depth of only about .80 m. above floor level, to rise again to a height of well over a meter over the line of the cross-wall between the two rooms. At the north end of the house the burned deposit was again deeper over the outer wall, but here the fill was thin and had evidently been cut down by later settlers. The thick deposit at the south included large numbers of building stones and a lesser amount of crude brick; that over the cross-wall was almost entirely of bricks. We may thus imagine the outer walls built of stone carried to considerable height and crowned by brick construction, while the inside wall seems to have been almost entirely of brick resting on a socle of stone. All of the walls were strengthened by a framework of wooden posts and beams laid in their inner and outer faces and no doubt tied together by cross-pieces running through the thickness. The uniform height to which the walls are preserved must represent the level of the lowest horizontal beam set in the wall faces. The niches in which the vertical posts once stood vary in width from 45 to 50 cm. and are usually about 20 cm. in depth. Each probably once contained a pair of posts set side by side. Careful examination of these niches brought to light no metal nails or spikes, so that it would seem that the posts and beams were fastened together

either by mortises or by wooden pegs at the points where they crossed. The average interval between the posts in the wall faces was about 2.50 m. in the inner room, less in the outer. The walls were 1.50 m. thick, of porous masonry faces with a rubble filling between. The inner face was covered by a thick layer of clay plaster, now bubbled and vitrified by the heat of the fire. This coat doubtless covered and concealed the wooden framework in the wall face.

The building was entered at the north through a wide doorway of which the west side has not yet been cleared. Wooden beams laid in a rubble bed across the opening probably served to bed a wooden threshold. It is possible, though unlikely, that there was a second doorway in the west side of the building. A cross-wall pierced by a doorway opposite the main entrance of the building divided the interior into two rooms, a vestibule or anteroom 7.45 m. deep and a big inner room 18.85 m. in depth and 15.05 m. wide. At the center of the outer room and between the two doorways lay a round hearth of stucco 2 m. in diameter, of exactly the same kind as the hearths in the Brick Building and the Mosaic Building. The central part of the inner room of Megaron 3 has been cleared enough to show that there was no second hearth in the inner room.

Bedded in the floor to the whole length of the building was a wooden beam—or series of beams—.40 m. wide, laid parallel to the east wall and 3.50 m. from its inner face (pl. 59, fig. 17). A corresponding beam lay along the west side. These beams had been reduced to charcoal in the burning of the building, but at one place the full thickness of 18 cm. was preserved, no doubt in charcoal somewhat less than in the unburned wood. These beams must have projected at least 10 cm. above floor level. They were crossed at fairly regular intervals of about 3 m. by pairs of parallel short wooden beds laid underneath, roughly trimmed logs about 1.20 m. in length and with a combined width of 60-70 cm. Of these there were four in the inner room and one in the outer, balanced by an equal number at the west side. They were evidently bed-beams laid at regular intervals to support the long beam bedded in the floor. At one crossing the charcoal of the long beam was well enough preserved to show that there was no joint between the ends of beams laid end to end; the charcoal carried right across the supporting wooden bed, which was therefore not laid to support a joint between two pieces laid end to end. The

most likely explanation seemed that the cross-pieces had been laid at the points where wooden posts had been bedded on the upper beam. Such posts would in any case be necessary to help carry the roof of the building; without them the clear space to be spanned by the roof was 15.05 m. Two rows of wooden posts, then, divided the interior of the building into a central nave 7.25 m. in width, and side aisles each 3.50 m. wide. The roof was probably double-pitched with a gable at each end, and constructed of heavy wooden beams, reeds, and an outer coating of clay like the roof of the Mosaic Building. A few fragments of clay with reed-impressions on one face were recovered from the burned debris. The southernmost of the row of beds at the west side confirmed our restoration of wooden posts: the charcoal of the long beam at floor level was there well preserved and showed an oblong cutting .30 m. long by .15 wide (pl. 60, fig. 18), obviously the socket for the lower end of a vertical post. The dimensions of the cutting suggest rather a socket for a tongue at the lower end of a post which might well have a width equal to that of the beam on which it was bedded, 40 cm. Two rows of square posts each measuring 40 cm. on a side would have given sturdy support for the roof of the building. It is of course possible that the roof-line was broken and that the two rows of posts carried the sides of a central clerestory rising above the roofs of the side aisles. At the south end the wall of the building was preserved to a height of 2 m. and there were no traces of windows. The evidence is however inconclusive; windows at a level more than 2 m. above the floor inside are just as possible as windows in a clerestory. We must in any case assume some means of lighting the big room from outside.

Seemingly superfluous are a second pair of smaller wooden beams, only .30 m. in width, bedded in the floor between the outer walls and the inner bed beams which carried the rows of posts. These existed only in the inner room and do not appear in the outer; they extended from the cross-wall at the north southward to a cross-beam, also .30 m. in width, laid in the floor parallel to the south wall of the building and 1.60 m. from it.²² Just north of the point where the eastern beam meets the cross-

²² On the plan, pl. 57, fig. 16, the eastern of these wooden beds is mistakenly shown as extending to the face of the south wall of the building. The western is correctly shown, ending at the line of the cross-beam. Actually, there was evidence in

beam the charcoal showed pieces of a small round post set on the horizontal beam, but there was no socket to receive its lower end. The outer pair of beams then would also seem to have bedded rows of wooden posts, round and much smaller than the ones bedded on the inner pair. Presumably the cross-beam across the south end of the building also carried similar small posts. Immediately beside the faces of the east and south walls (and the west wall too, as far as it has been cleared) we found either the stumps of round wooden posts, usually 16-18 cm. in diameter, or the round holes in which such posts had been bedded. These posts had stood immediately in front of the wall faces: seven at fairly regular intervals of 2.25-2.30 m. along the face of the south wall, and six at somewhat greater intervals along the face of the east. These must have carried horizontal timbers laid along the wall face from post to post in order to support the end of a ceiling or floor. The only sensible purpose for these posts with their lintels along the wall faces, in conjunction with the rows of posts on the outer beam-beds, would seem to be to carry a gallery running around three sides of the room perhaps at a level of about half its height. At east and west the galleries were probably deeper than at the south, carried out to the inner rows of large posts which supported the roof. The ends of the gallery floors rested on the beams along the wall faces and on cross-pieces carried between the big posts, perhaps notched into their faces. The floors received supplementary support from the two outer series of smaller posts between, which stood 1.80 m. from the wall faces and only 1.40 m. from the inner rows of posts, probably to relieve the latter of as much of the weight of the gallery as possible. The depth of the side galleries was 3.50 m.; with the support of a row of posts set near the middle underneath fairly thin planks could be used for flooring. The narrower (1.60 m.) southern gallery needed no intermediate support.

Unless the rows of posts set against the wall faces carried the inner ends of galleries they would seem to have no sensible purpose or reason for existence. Seemingly the logical way to build such a gallery would be to carry cross-beams from the walls to the inner row of posts, supporting their ends in sockets in the wall faces, and to lay the floor planks length-

the charcoal to suggest a mortise: the crossbeam notched in its northern face to receive the end of the long north-south series of beams.

wise. The Phrygian builders, however, did not do this; instead they went to the trouble of setting up a whole series of posts and lintels in front of the wall faces to carry the inner ends of galleries. Actually the positions of the posts do not correspond exactly to those of the large posts of the innermost rows; no beams carried across between posts would have been at right angles to the walls. Either the galleries were a later addition or the builders were accustomed to thinking of their monumental buildings as enclosers of space to be subdivided inside quite independently of the outer construction. We have seen similar expedients used in the North Court of the Phrygian Gate Building, where the beds for light walls laid along the faces of the massive original masonry, already covered with plaster, must have carried construction whose only purpose could have been to support the ends of the floor of a second storey;²³ there were no sockets for the ends of beams in the masonry of the wall faces at any level. In the case of the North Court we thought at the time (because of the wall plaster) that the supplementary walls and the making of the second storey which they supported represented a later alteration of the original construction. But now we find similar methods used to support a gallery not only in Megaron 3 but also in the three rooms of the Terrace Building which have been cleared (see below). It begins to seem that these methods of constructing a second storey, or a gallery, inside the shell of a large building and quite independently of it, were characteristic Phrygian building procedure, though the reasons for it are not obvious.

No evidence has as yet been found for a staircase leading up to the gallery. Presumably such a stair would have been entirely of wood and could have been completely consumed in the fire without leaving recognizable traces. Pottery in great quantity was found along the east and south walls of the room, while its center was almost completely free. Some of the vessels stood upright against the walls; but above these there lay a welter of broken vases, in places two and three deep. Often fragments of the same vase were found scattered over a wide area. It is likely that a great part of this pottery had been stored in the gallery, especially along the south side of the room, and that it had fallen to the floor when the gallery collapsed in the fire. A large shallow basin lying broken in the floor (pl. 60, fig. 19) contained the fragments of smaller vessels, and

several more lay beside it, perhaps thrown out when it fell from the gallery. Some of these, as may be seen in the photograph, had melted and buckled in the heat. Nearby (at the upper right in pl. 60, fig. 19) lay a nest of corroded bronzes which had been reduced in large part by heat and subsequent pressure to green powder. It was possible, however, to clean them so that the original shapes appeared before they fell apart: a ladle of exactly the same type as examples found in Tumulus P, the Royal Tomb, and Pauline; and a plain omphalos bowl like many found in the same burials. The pottery included many examples of the side-spouted jug type, mostly in plain polished ware, of which black-polished specimens were found in Tumulus P and a painted one in Pauline (pl. 56, fig. 6). One of the finest examples of the undecorated wares is a large open drinking or mixing bowl of buff color, with high handles rising from the rim (pl. 58, fig. 20). A round-mouthed jug with one handle from the south side of the room is an example of the bi-chrome ware, painted with geometric designs in black and red over a white slip (pl. 58, fig. 21). The most handsome vessel, which was found standing upright against the south wall, is a large semi-covered krater with rotelles on the tops of the handles (pl. 58, fig. 22). Shoulder and neck are decorated by panels of geometric designs drawn with painstaking care in a violet colored paint on the buff surface of the clay. The top of the vessel is partly covered by a lid fixed to the inner face of the rim; it slopes upward to rise at the center to a second, higher rim around the opening. The flat part of this "lid" is decorated with painted designs similar to those on shoulder and neck.

The other furnishings of the inner room of Megaron 3 must have been as rich as its proportions were imposing. Many fragments were found, mostly along the east side, of elaborate wooden furniture, now broken and reduced to charcoal. Pieces of all the types known from the tombs were recognizable, and other types as well not found hitherto at Gordion. In one place lay a mass of small squared blocks which had belonged to a wood mosaic, probably of two contrasting colors; perhaps the top of a table such as was found in Tumulus P. Nearby were small strips cut in varying shapes—chevrons, zig-zags and so forth—which had once been the inlay in a piece of furniture with inlaid decoration similar to that of the screens from the Royal Tomb and

²³ *AJA* 59 (1955) 14.

Tumulus P. More substantial bits, probably from the outer framework of a screen or chair-back, had been liberally decorated with round-headed bronze studs, recalling the furniture fragment from Tumulus Pauline. Yet another fragment pierced by open-work squares recalled again the fragment from Pauline, and the throne-back from Tumulus P.

New was a strip of wood decorated with relief carving of the most exquisite delicacy, representing a procession of long-horned deer or bulls, led by a rider holding a flail (pl. 61, fig. 23). This had no doubt been part of the decoration of a throne, or perhaps a chest. The wood had been completely carbonized and the charcoal was cracked into lumps; under the sun as we cleaned the surface began to open in a network of fine new cracks. This was by far the most difficult thing we had yet encountered at Gordion, which has in the past presented numerous similar problems, to dig, to clean, to lift and preserve, and to photograph. Mr. Last's drawing, produced after many hours of careful study and consultation (pl. 61, fig. 24) can give an idea of the substance of the decoration but no conception of the superb delicacy of the detail of the carved relief. The animals with their wide-spreading horns remind one of course of the animals of the painted Alişar ware and our fragments from the neighborhood of the Polychrome House (pl. 58, fig. 15).

Also new were several pieces of ivory inlay found close against the east wall of the room in a mass of charcoal, the shapeless remains of a piece of furniture decorated with inlaid squares of carved ivory measuring 5 cm. on a side. The decoration was of two types: a geometric ornament of diminishing squares, and relief carving showing animal and human figures. The plaques with the geometric decoration seem to have been fastened by iron pins set into dowel holes at the back, while the figured pieces show holes for bronze pins or dowels in the side faces. The three best-preserved of the figured plaques (pl. 60, fig. 25a-c) show a deer with its head turned back, a griffin holding a fish in its mouth, and a mounted warrior. The last wears a helmet which curves forward at the top like a Phrygian cap, and carries a small round shield. He is evidently a Phrygian warrior, and important as the first representation of a human figure that we have found in the pre-Kimmerian levels at Gordion.

²⁴ *AJA* 61 (1957) pl. 91, fig. 20; Koerte, *Gordion* Taf. 5.

The ivory-carving, too, seems to be Phrygian. The style agrees with none of the known oriental schools of ivory carving and must be local. Characteristic are the diamond-shaped eyes. The griffin with its fish reminds us of the small wooden figure of a griffin eating found in Tumulus P²⁴ and of the wooden figure from Koerte Tumulus III, an animal—probably a lion rather than a griffin—eating another, which served as the handle for the lid of a bronze cauldron. Several more ivory plaques carved with figures were found, but in fragmentary condition. The finding of ivory at Gordion attests another link with the world of the orient, for the ivory itself must have been imported. Perhaps oriental ivory-carvers taught the Phrygians the technique of their craft; but the Phrygians had a style and tradition of their own which they could apply as well to ivory as to wood. These carved plaques were made locally and are the first products to be found which belong to a long-anticipated Phrygian school of ivory carving.²⁵

The size of the great inner room of Megaron 3 and the lavishness of its furnishings are quite out of the ordinary. Perhaps they embody the mansion of a rich Phrygian nobleman, perhaps the palace of the Phrygian king. Each year at Gordion we seem to find something palatial, and it becomes the palace-of-the-year. If we interpret Megaron 3 as the palace, it is likely to remain so for three years at least, since work at Gordion is not contemplated in 1960, and at least one season's work of clearing the upper levels will have to be done before the Phrygian level can be reached again at the west or south. And about one fourth of the area of Megaron 3 remains to be cleared; there is always a chance that this may produce something to indicate whether the building was actually the palace, or merely palatial.

THE TERRACE BUILDING

The later terrace at the south carried an extensive building of which three rooms have now been cleared. The terrace, with a ground-level nearly 2 m. higher than that of the buildings to the north, represents the latest phase in the development of Gordion before the Kimmerian invasion. The terrace wall which retained its filling at the north has been traced for many meters toward the east; but it came to an end at the southeast corner of the Mosaic

²⁵ Barnett in *JHS* 58 (1948) 8ff.

Building and the south walls of the Mosaic Building and of Megaron 3 were made to serve as terrace walls from that point southward. As has been noted already a long tongue of the terrace extended northward between the two buildings and a staircase was put in beside the northeast corner of Megaron 3 to give access from the lower level to the upper.

The three rooms of the Terrace building appear on the plan, pl. 57, fig. 16. They were identical in proportions and in layout: each 11.50 m. in width by 13.40 in length, sharing a party-wall without opening to give access from room to room, and with a continuous north wall which reflected the interior divisions by slight jogs in its outer face at the points where the cross-walls joined inside. These walls, 1.30 m. thick, were built with masonry faces and rubble filling. In most places they have split down the middle and the faces lean out in either direction. They were evidently bedded on wooden beams at or just below floor level, and the uniformity of the height to which they are now preserved is due to the ertswile presence of horizontal timbers laid in the wall faces at that height. There were no vertical posts in niches in the wall faces. The rooms were entered by wide doorways at their south side; the wall-ends beside the doorways show tongues of masonry at the center of their thickness, and often beside the tongues the beds in which wooden jambs framing the doors had once stood. The westernmost room (pl. 61, fig. 26) shows an arrangement for interior supports which is repeated in the other two rooms: two rows of four oblong post-holes in the floor along the east and west sides, and a single post-hole at the center of the north side. There was no post-hole at the south, in front of the door. The dimensions of the holes suggest wooden posts measuring about 12 by 20 cm. on a side; they are quite regular along the sides, but the corner posts were larger and L-shaped, and the central northern post often larger than the ones of the side rows. These free-standing posts were echoed each by another standing immediately in front of the wall-face. The wall posts were not bedded below floor level; possibly they were pegged to the horizontal timbers in the wall faces. That they existed is shown by the condition of the wall faces at the points where they stood: in some places the wall plaster breaks on a straight vertical line against the side-face of a (now missing) post; in others the wooden posts burned where they stood, and the

wall behind is much more deeply scarred by fire than elsewhere. The arrangement is so similar to that of the inner room of Megaron 3 that we can hardly help but envision again wooden galleries running around three sides of the room, carried in part on posts with lintels set against the wall faces and independent of the building construction, and in part on the posts which helped support the roof. A hearth near the center of the westernmost room (pl. 61, fig. 26) was clear of the galleries around the three sides. There must have been an outlet for its smoke, presumably in the roof, which like those of the Mosaic Building and Megaron 3 was of heavy timbers covered by reeds and an outer layer of clay. There are difficulties in imagining a reconstruction of the roof of the terrace building. The plan would suggest a gable roof with its ridge running in the direction of the two rows of internal supports, but such a roof over each of the rooms would make a succession of gables all draining down in the direction of the walls between the rooms. A gable roof sloping in the other direction could be continuous over the whole succession of rooms, but it would have been laid in the direction of the greatest span, of which we do not yet know the width since each room appears to have had an anteroom outside it at the south. Most probably the roof was flat, perhaps with a gentle slope toward the north and a central opening covered by a louver at the center over the hearth. As may be seen from the plan the only source of light for each room could have been through windows in the north wall; this source could have been supplemented by a louver in the roof at the center over the hearth.

The Terrace Building was very extensive. To the east of the three rooms that have been cleared we know of the existence of two more. Both north and south wall continue westward under the scarp of the undug area; and all of the cross-walls between the rooms likewise disappear into the scarp at the south. We must expect, then, a series of rooms to the south of those already dug, connecting with them through the wide doorways and probably opening at the south into a corridor or an open courtyard. On the analogy of the Phrygian buildings already dug we may perhaps expect these southern rooms to be shallower than the rooms behind them, perhaps vestibules or anterooms. Enough was cleared of the westernmost of this southern series to show in one corner a domed oven and beside it a round hearth (pl. 62, fig. 27). The walls of the oven, built

of clay and plastered inside and out, had broken down, but their stump showed the beginning of the curve of the dome. The opening was at the south side; for ventilation there must have been a small round hole at the back near the top (as in a modern Turkish outdoor oven) which could be closed with a plug of clay—actually, the plug was found inside the oven. A third cooking-place had been in part destroyed by a deep later disturbance. It had been a U-shaped low wall of clay, open at one end. No doubt the round hearth was used for heating and for making embers, perhaps also for boiling food in pots set in the ashes; the U-shaped hearth was a grill over which, when it was filled with embers, spitted meat could be conveniently roasted; and the closed oven was for baking. A large fragment of a flat tray of clay, open at one end and with a raised rim around the other sides, was found beside the oven. It appears in pl. 62, fig. 27, on top of the wall behind the handle of the shovel. It was probably a kneading trough for making bread. Until we know the shape and extent of the south room the position of these cooking places in one corner is puzzling. We cannot assume a wooden gallery extending over the area where lay the open hearth, and a louver or similar arrangement for letting out the smoke is hard to imagine at the corner of the room.

Each of the northern series of rooms had at its north end a grinding-stand for the making of flour with multiple sets of grindstones. These stands seem to have been fitted in to the area by building them around and behind the wooden post at the north side of the room, and the mold of the northern post is often preserved in the fabric of the stand. The grinding-stand at the north side of the westernmost room seems originally to have accommodated six grinders; then it was extended toward the east and place was made for two more; finally a little individual stand was added against the extension at the south. Each room with places for eight or ten people to grind grain at the same time bespeaks a rather wholesale production of flour. The westernmost room contained also the charred remains of three large wooden troughs, probably for kneading dough (pl. 62, fig. 28). These had been made by hollowing out huge logs of wood 70 cm. or more in diameter.

Each room of the Terrace Building affords evidence for the grinding, kneading, and baking proc-

esses in the production of bread. Each contained, too, huge numbers of pottery vessels no doubt used for the storage of liquids and for other kinds of cooking. The pottery was usually found thickly clustered around three sides of the room, the lowermost vessels often standing upright on the floor but those above them in no sort of order. Probably many of these had fallen from above when the wooden galleries in which they were stored collapsed in the fire. From the easternmost room nearly two hundred pots were recovered. These included occasional painted vessels, but in general the quality was inferior to that of the pottery found in Megaron 3. The most welcome of the vessels from here was an askos of buff clay with all-over checkerboard decoration in black paint; it is exactly like an askos from the child's burial under Tumulus P (pl. 58, fig. 29).²⁰ In addition to the pottery great numbers of unbaked clay "loomweights" were found in all of the rooms, as well as whorls of various types—more than 150 in the eastern room. A few bronze fibulae of the types found in the Phrygian burials also turned up, and some other items of small personal jewelry such as bronze bracelets and a necklace of small blue glass beads.

The Terrace Building is known to have been at least 60 m. in length; how much farther it extended westward and southward only time will show. Details of construction indicate that it was planned and built all at one time, evidently as an important public building. Its prominent position on a high terrace gives it a claim to have been the king's palace rivalling that of Megaron 3. If it was the palace, we have opened so far only some of the work- and storerooms; and we can have little admiration for the Phrygians as neat and orderly housekeepers. In a palace, as at Knossos for example, one would expect many storerooms for the stowing of goods and equipment of all kinds; one would expect also workrooms in which the chores of daily living were performed. But one would expect at least a modicum of neatness and order: one room for the storage of bronzes, six for the storage of pottery vessels, perhaps one for the archives, and as workrooms one for the grinding of flour, another for the kneading of bread, and perhaps a bake-room with several ovens. The rooms of the Terrace Building, with evidence for all kinds of different activity in each, on the other hand suggest

²⁰ *AJA* 61 (1957) pl. 93, fig. 26.

nothing but a large and disorderly apartment house in which each family carried on its manifold daily activities in its own room or suite of rooms. Perhaps they slept in the galleries.

While the 1959 campaign at Gordion has raised a host of new problems (as excavation usually does) its results have been most satisfactory in pinning down the chronology of the Phrygian city. Although we have had good evidence for the dating of the burials in the form of objects imported or adapted from oriental areas where they can be dated, in the city we have gone on the assumption that the whole-

sale destruction came as a result of the Kimmerian raid of the early seventh century, and we have had little that could be dated more definitely than "eighth-seventh century." Now with the finding among the burned debris in the city of furniture and bronzes, fibulae and pottery vessels which are close parallels to similar and better dated objects found in the tombs, we may perhaps say definitely, instead of only tentatively, "This was the Kimmerian destruction."

THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, PHILADELPHIA



Agonistic Festivals in Italy and Sicily

IRENE RINGWOOD ARNOLD

In earlier studies of local Greek festivals, I have attempted to reconstruct the programs of the local agones on the mainland outside Attica, and also on the islands of Euboea, Delos, and Rhodes.¹ In all cases I have emphasized the agonistic features of the festivals, and have relied mainly on the inscriptional records for an account of the celebrations. This paper is an attempt to make a similar reconstruction of the agones in Italy and Sicily, and to answer in particular two questions that seem of paramount importance in this locality. Were the Greek games as unpopular with the Romans as most literary authorities would have us suppose? Did the games in this part of the world follow the pattern of the great Panhellenic festivals, or did the Romans introduce some local features of their own?

The literary allusions to the agones are well-known, most of them denouncing the games as a mark of moral degeneracy. "To strip naked among one's fellow citizens," says Ennius, "is the beginning of vice."² Cicero protests to Marius:³ "You love the Greeks so little that you do not even use the Greek road to your villa. Why should I suppose that you would long for the athletes, you who despise the gladiators?" Even Pompey, he adds, admitted he had wasted "toil and oil" on the games he had sponsored. Seneca deplors the growing emphasis on athletic contests in his day: "How many men train their bodies, and how few train their minds! What crowds flock to the games, spurious as they are and arranged merely for pastime, and what a solitude reigns where the good arts are taught."⁴ Finally Tacitus⁵ records the reaction of many Romans in the time of Nero to the institution of a quinquennial contest, the Neronea,⁶ after the model of the Greek games; "Games ought to be conducted as of old, when the praetors presided with no compulsion on anyone to compete. Our

fathers' manners, disused by degrees, were now being entirely thrown over by a license imported from abroad, whereby everything that was corrupt and corrupting was exhibited within the city. These foreign pursuits were ruining our young men who were giving themselves up to the indolent and shameful practices of the gymnasium. In this the Emperor and the Senate had led the way, having not only given a free rein to vice, but even compelled Roman nobles, in the name of oratory and poetry to degrade themselves upon the stage."

As Norman Gardiner points out, in his very informative book *Athletics of the Ancient World*, there may have been some justification for this feeling. When the Romans first came to know the Greeks well, the nation as well as their athletics was degenerating. It may be argued, too, as Mr. Gardiner does, that athletics should not be an end in themselves, and the Romans with their practical bent may have felt that the honors paid in Greece to athletic success were out of all proportion to its deserts. According to Mr. Gardiner it is this feeling that makes many people in England at the present time so lukewarm towards the revived Olympic games, to the multiplication of championships and international competitions. "We feel," he writes, "that they confuse our values, and give to sport an unreal place in our life."⁷ One is reminded of the more ancient protest of Xenophanes in the period of Greece's greatest athletic glory, before any corrupting influences had set in. "Yet is he not so worthy as I, and my wisdom is better than the strength of men and horses. Nay this is a foolish custom, nor is it right to honor strength more than excellent wisdom."⁸

A study of the inscriptions gives a somewhat different picture of the Roman reaction, at least in some localities and at certain periods of Roman

¹ Ringwood, Irene C., *Agonistic Features of Local Greek Festivals Chiefly from Inscriptional Evidence* (Poughkeepsie, N.Y., 1927) (non-Attic mainland); also *AJA* 33 (1929) 385-92 (Euboea); 37 (1933) 452-58 (Delos); 40 (1936) 432-36 (Rhodes).

² *Scenica* 395, ed. Vahlen, quoted with approval by Cicero, *Tusc.* 4.70.

³ *Ad Fam.* 12.1.3.

⁴ *Ep.* 80.2 and 88.18f, tr. R. M. Gummere; also *Ep.* 15.3;

in much the same vein the two Plinys (*N.H.* 18.63; *Panegy.* 13.5 and *Ep.* 4.22) and Juvenal (3.68) attack the athletic customs of their time.

⁵ *Annals* 14.20, tr. Ramsay.

⁶ See *infra* notes 50-52.

⁷ Gardiner, N., *Athletics of the Ancient World* (Oxford, Clarendon Press 1930) 118-19.

⁸ *Fr.* 2 (Diels).

history. There is no question that the greatest development of the agones took place during the Empire, and largely as a result of the great impetus to the games given by Augustus. But even during the Republic there is evidence of considerable interest in Greek athletics from a very early date down to the time of Caesar. A list of Olympic victors in 476 B.C., the first games to be held after the victory at Plataea, includes many names from Italy and Sicily. At least one of these victors, Euthymus of Locri, attained such fame that his name became a household word.⁹ In Italy itself athletic festivals were established at various times during the Republic. As early as 186 B.C. M. Fulvius Nobilior instituted an agon, and summoned for the occasion many artists from Greece.¹⁰ In 80 B.C. Sulla celebrated his victory over Mithridates by establishing a festival, which was attended by so many athletes from Greece that in that year there was a lack of contestants at Olympia.¹¹ Thirty-two years later in 58 B.C. M. Scaurus revived these games of Sulla,¹² as did also C. Curio in 53 B.C. at the funeral games for his father.¹³ In 55 B.C. Pompey introduced agones at the dedication of his theatre, an effort which Cicero deemed largely wasted.¹⁴ Finally in 46 B.C. Caesar held triumphal games in which athletes contended for three days.¹⁵

But it was in the period of the Empire that the

⁹ Paus. 6.4ff; Dittenberger-Purgold, *Inscr. von Oly.* no. 144; Euthymus even enjoyed the distinction of a statue made by Pythagoras of Samos.

¹⁰ Livy 39.22.

¹¹ Appian *Bell. Civ.* 1.99.

¹² Valer. Max. 2.4.7; Valerius states wrongly that he started them.

¹³ Pliny *N.H.* 36-120.

¹⁴ Dio 39.38; Plutarch, *Pompey* ch. 52; Cicero, *Ad Fam. loc.cit.* (supra n.3).

¹⁵ Suetonius, *Caesar* ch. 39.

¹⁶ Every town in Italy had its own show of some sort. A typical instance is cited on the funeral inscription of A. Clodius, three times duumvir at Pompeii (*CIL X 1074d*). In it his wife enumerates various exhibitions given in honor of his elections. On his second election he gave an exhibition lasting for two days at the games of Apollo. On the first day in the Forum there was a "procession, bull-fighters and common pugilists"; on the second day in the amphitheatre there were "thirty pairs of athletes, five pairs of gladiators," etc. The term "pairs of athletes" suggests that they were wrestlers. Obviously some Greek influence had crept into the local gladiatorial contests.

¹⁷ Cf. L. Robert, *RevPhil* 56 (1930) 36-38.

¹⁸ An Augustalia festival was also instituted at Rome in A.D. 19 when Augustus had returned to Rome after ruling the affairs of the Orient (Dio 54.10 and 34; also *CIL I p. 404*; *Mon. Ancy.* ed. E. G. Hardy [Oxford 1923] ch. 11 lines 29-33). On this occasion games were held, similar to those celebrated

agones really became part of the national scene. New festivals sprang up all over the Roman world, in Italy and Sicily,¹⁶ as well as in Greece and the Near East. The most important of the Greek festivals instituted in Italy¹⁷ during the Empire were 1) the Sebasta or Augustalia at Naples,¹⁸ 2) the Capitolia at Rome, and 3) the Eusebeia at Puteoli.

The Sebasta or Augustalia is best described by Strabo¹⁹ who, in speaking of Naples, observes: "The quinquennial games which are there celebrated, and which consist of gymnastic contests and musical competitions (these competitions often lasting for several days in succession) rival the best that Greece can offer in this respect." The fact that this was one of the most brilliant festivals in the Roman world is abundantly attested by inscriptional records.²⁰ The games were probably reorganized by Augustus in A.D. 2 from an already existing Actia celebration at Naples.²¹ Such Actia festivals had apparently been set up in many parts of the Empire, local counterparts of the great Actia festival founded by Augustus at Nicopolis to commemorate the victory at Actium and considered fifth among the great games of Greece.²² At the time of the reorganization, the festival was given the full title Italica Romaea Sebasta Isolympia,²³ and its great importance is shown by the fact that it was to be used as a basis of a new chronology, the new era

on his birthday, and were renewed yearly. We know little of the details of the contests, and the Roman Augustalia seems never to have assumed the significance of the festival at Naples.

¹⁹5, p.246C.

²⁰ There are references to the Sebasta or Augustalia in the following inscriptions: *IG II² 3169-70*; III 129; IV 591; VII 49; XIV 737, 746, 747, 748, 754, 755, 1102, 1114; also *CIG III 5805*; Ditt-Purgold, *op.cit.* (supra n.9) 56; cf. L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni Agonistiche Greche* (Rome 1953) nos. 65, 67-70, 72, 73, 75, 76, 78, 79, 81, 84, 86-90.

²¹ There is some controversy about the date of the founding of the festival. According to Dio (55.10.9) the games were decreed in honor of Augustus in the year 2 B.C. On the other hand there is a reference in an inscription (*CIG loc.cit.*, supra n. 20) to their founding in A.D. 2. I have accepted Ettore Pais' (*Ancient Italy 394-95*) explanation that local Actia games had been in existence at Naples for some time, and that a municipal decree of the Neapolitans dedicated them to Augustus, who shortly before had given aid to the city when shaken by earthquakes. It was not until A.D. 2 however, that the games were reorganized as Augustalia. The original games were probably established in 30 B.C. one year after Actium. Actia games were also instituted at Rome, but appear not to have lasted after the death of Augustus (*Josephus Bell. Ind.* 1.20.4; Dio 53.1; *CIG p.730a*). For further substantiation of the A.D. 2 date cf. R. M. Geer, *TransPhilAs* 66 (1935) 216 and n.40.

²² Strabo 7 p. 501; Suet. *Aug.* ch. 18; Dio 51.19; 53.1; 54.19; Pliny *N.H.* 7.158.

²³ *IG XIV 748*.

to be reckoned by Italids instead of Olympiads. The term Isolympia, however, refers not to the renown of the games, but to the conditions of eligibility, particularly the age of contestants, and to the regulations regarding the prizes.²⁴ The most complete recording of the games is preserved on a long but fragmentary inscription from Olympia,²⁵ an inscription which has been thoroughly analyzed by R. Mortimer Geer in his discussion of the Sebasta at Naples.²⁶ The inscription was a decree of a legislative body, probably the local council at Naples, set up at Olympia to define the rules of the games, and to advertise the Sebasta to the crowds assembling for the Olympian festivals.

The agon followed closely the plan of the great Panhellenic games, and consisted of two major divisions. The first part, patterned after the Olympic games, featured mainly gymnastic and equestrian events. The second part, imitating the Nemean and Pythian festivals, included also musical and dramatic competitions.

The program of athletic events, reconstructed mainly from the Olympic inscription,²⁷ included the following regular events: stadion, diaulon, wrestling, pancration, pentathlon, race in armor and a race for apobatai.²⁸ The equestrian events included races for horses with riders, and for two-horse and four-horse chariots.

The music and dramatic portion was not part of the original program, but was added after Augustus' death. The addition was probably made at the celebration of A.D. 18, and from that time on the second part of the festival was introduced by a procession and sacrifice to the gods, including Augustus Caesar. The music and dramatic program included the following events: heralds, trumpeters, non-cyclic citharists, non-cyclic flutists, cyclic citharists, cyclic flutists, citharodes, comic actors of two types, tragic actors, pantomime actors, eulogists, and probably lyric poets.²⁹ The *διὰ πάντων* contest listed in two of the inscriptions I shall discuss later.³⁰

As Greek influence became more pronounced, the

custom of crowning poets at musical and dramatic contests gained ground, and gave considerable impetus to the writing of poetry. This apparently happened at Naples, where the contest in Greek poetry became one of the most renowned of the competitions. Suetonius³¹ describes how the Emperor Claudius appeared in Greek costume at the festival and awarded the prize to a comedy by his brother, Germanicus, whose memory he honored in every way. The prize was awarded in accordance with the decision of the judges. The festival lasted at least until the 3rd century A.D.³²

The inscriptions provide us with some further details of the management of the Sebasta. Eligibility was limited to boys over seventeen and under twenty years of age,³³ and one inscription refers to the *παῖδες Κλαυδιανοί*.³⁴ This group was obviously named in honor of Claudius who had taken such an active part in the contests. There is at least one indication also that the boys' events were limited to citizens of Naples.³⁵

Some facts are recorded also about the regulation of the expense money and the prizes.³⁶ The athletes were each allowed one drachma a day for thirty days preceding the games, and shortly before the celebrations this was increased to two and a half drachmae for boys and three for men. All contestants in gymnastic events were required to enroll with the agonothetes thirty days before the start of the games, and failure to register honestly was punished by fine or beating. Late registration was excusable only for reasons of illness, highway robbery or shipwreck. The prizes for the athletic events were crowns of wheat for the men, and crowns, probably of some other material, for the boys. For the musical and dramatic contests, cash prizes were given. For tragic actors the prize was 3000 drachmae, and for pantomime dancers 4000 drachmae.

Even more brilliant than the Sebasta at Naples was the Capitolia at Rome. This agon was instituted as a quinquennial festival by Domitian in

²⁴ Cf. Dittenberger, *Syll. Insc. Gr.* 402, and H. Pomtow, *Klio* 14 (1914) 278 n.3.

²⁵ Ditt. Purgold *op.cit.* (supra n.9) 56.

²⁶ *TransPhilAs op.cit.* 208-21. The account of the games given here is a summary of his findings.

²⁷ *ibid.* 210.

²⁸ The race for apobatai, in which two men started in a chariot, but one dismounted at some point and finished on foot, was comparatively rare. It was a regular feature of the Panathenaea but is seldom found in the local games. I have come upon mention of it in the Boeotian and Thessalian lists. Cf. Ring-

wood, *op.cit.* (supra n.1) 36, 46, 47, 15, 18.

²⁹ For a detailed discussion of the music and dramatic part of the program, cf. Geer *op.cit.* 212, 218-21.

³⁰ *IG XIV 737, 1111.*

³¹ *Claudius* ch. 11. ³² *IG II² 3169-70.*

³³ Ditt.-Purgold *op.cit.* (supra n.9) 56, vs. 10-11. At a later time a class of *ἀγένοιοι* was added (cf. *IG XIV add. 755d*, late 2nd century A.D.).

³⁴ Moretti *op.cit.* (supra n.20) no. 72.

³⁵ *IG XIV 748 . . . παίδων πολιτικῶν θίαυλον.*

³⁶ Ditt.-Purgold *op.cit.* (supra n.9) 56, vs. 13-26.

A.D. 86, and was planned as a Roman replica of the Olympic games. In fact, Domitian gave the title Olympia to the celebration.³⁷ The prize was an oak wreath, and, as at the Sebasta, the Emperor himself in Greek costume presented it. In the performance of the ceremony Domitian had the assistance of the flamen Dialis and of the attendants of the Sodales Flaviales.³⁸

We have no long inscription recording the program of the games as was the case with the Sebasta, but according to Suetonius all three types of contests, gymnastic, equestrian, music and dramatic were included.³⁹ Some scattered inscriptions support his statement as far as the gymnastic, musical and dramatic events were concerned.⁴⁰ We find mention there of heralds, the dolichodromos, boxing and pancration, writers of tragedy and comedy, and a pythikos auletes, but no record of equestrian contests. For the gymnastic festival Domitian built a stadium in the Campus Martius which held 30,000 to 33,000 spectators, and for the music and dramatic programs he constructed an Odeum designed by the famous architect Apollodorus.⁴¹

As at the Sebasta the greatest emphasis seems to have been on the poetry contest. To win the award in the Greek and Latin poetry contest at the Capitolia remained the highest ambition of poets throughout the Empire. Contestants came from far distant lands to receive the wreath of olive and oak leaves from the hand of the Emperor. A pathetic epitaph of a twelve-year-old boy, Q. Sulpicius Maximus, immortalized the fact that he contended for this coveted prize with an improvised poem of forty-three Greek hexameters.⁴² Some other notable facts are recorded. Poets like Statius⁴³ and P. Annius Florus⁴⁴ were defeated in this contest, whereas others, such as Collinus and the tragic poet Scaevus Memor, hardly known to us now, appear to have been successful.⁴⁵

³⁷ Censor. *De die natali* 18.4; CIG 3180b.

³⁸ Suet. *Dom.* ch. 4.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ The Capitolia games are referred to in the following inscriptions: IG II² 3169-70; IG XIV 737, 746, 747, 1102, 2012; cf. Moretti *op.cit.* (supra n.20) nos. 66, 68-71, 74-76, 78-79, 81, 84, 87-88, 90.

⁴¹ Friedländer L., *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*, tr. J. H. Freese and L. A. Magnus, II 120-21.

⁴² IG XIV 2012; the phrase in the inscription "cum honore discessit" does not necessarily imply that he won the prize. In fact the Greek hexameters preserved in the inscription would hardly seem to merit the award.

⁴³ *Silv.* 3.5.31ff, and 5.3.231.

⁴⁴ Florus p. 183 ed. Rossb.

The agon Capitolinus lasted until the fourth century A.D.,⁴⁶ and its memory was preserved and honored throughout the Middle Ages.

About the Eusebeia at Puteoli we are less well informed, but there is sufficient evidence that it was one of the more important of the agones. It was a quinquennial festival founded by Antoninus Pius in honor of his father Hadrian⁴⁷ and, judging from the frequent references to it in the inscriptions, where the Eusebeia is listed along with the Capitolia and Sebasta and frequently with the great Panhellenic games of Greece,⁴⁸ it must have been a festival celebrated with considerable splendor. However, except for the names of some of the contests (heralds, dolichodromos, wrestling, boxing, pancration and one pythikos auletes) we know nothing of the details of the celebration. It lasted at least until the third century.⁴⁹

Another significant festival of the Empire mentioned both in inscriptions and in literary references is the Neronea, an agon instituted by Nero in A.D. 60, and lavishly imitative of Greek customs.⁵⁰ The agon was celebrated with the usual gymnastic,⁵¹ musical and dramatic contests, but the musical and dramatic contests were the dominating features. According to Suetonius, at the first celebration of the games Nero appointed ex-consuls to preside over the contest, and they occupied the seats of the praetors. Nero personally went down into the orchestra among the senators and accepted the prize for Latin oratory and verse, for which all the most eminent men had contended, but which was given to him with their unanimous consent. When, however, the prize for lyre-playing was offered him by the judges, he laid it at the feet of Augustus' statue. At this initial celebration the Vestal Virgins were invited in imitation of the customs at Olympia, where the priestesses of Ceres attended. After the second celebration in A.D. 65 the Neronea are no

⁴⁵ Friedländer *op.cit.* (supra n.41) III 45.

⁴⁶ Cf. the decree of Diocletian and Maximian, *Cod. Just.* 53, bestowing special privileges on athletes who had been crowned three times in the sacred agones at Rome.

⁴⁷ *Hist. Aug. Vit. Had.* ch. 27; Artem. *Oneir.* 1.26; IG XIV 737 line 7.

⁴⁸ IG XIV 737, 739, 830, 1102; cf. Moretti *op.cit.* (supra n. 20) nos. 73, 76-79, 81, 84, 87, 88, 90.

⁴⁹ IG II² 3169-70.

⁵⁰ Suet. *Nero* ch. 12; Tac. *Ann.* 14.20; IG XIV 2414 line 43; cf. Friedländer *op.cit.* (supra n.41) II 119-20.

⁵¹ The gymnastic program must have carried some prestige however. The son of a consular Palfurius Sura, a highly gifted and respected young man, appeared as a wrestler (*Schol. Juv.* 4.53).

longer mentioned. Gordian III is said to have renewed the celebration in A.D. 240 or 241 in the form of a new festival, probably the agon to Athena Promachus mentioned in several inscriptions.⁵²

Of the other agones of the Empire we know little more than their names. There was a festival to Minerva at Alba founded by Domitian, at which Statius appears to have been more successful in the poetic contest;⁵³ a Heraclea agon probably founded by Trajan and revived by Caracalla;⁵⁴ an agon to the Sungod instituted by Aurelian in A.D. 277;⁵⁵ and the third century festival mentioned above,⁵⁶ instituted by Gordian III and dedicated to Athena Promachus. In the later Empire, appearances of athletes in performances of every kind became more frequent, particularly after the fifth century.⁵⁷ Triumphal games established by Severus are mentioned in the account of Herodian and in an inscriptional record,⁵⁸ and the coins of Severus and Gordian III show athletes performing in the Circus Maximus.⁵⁹ After the fifth century athletes may have supplanted the gladiators altogether.⁶⁰

The Sicilian records add little to our knowledge, the only reference there being incidental mention of agones at Taormina⁶¹ (referred to in the accounts of that city); an Aetnaea festival at Aetna instituted by Hieron in connection with the founding of the new city;⁶² a yearly agon to Zeus Eleutherios at

Syracuse;⁶³ and finally an agon *ἐν σκίλλαις* for epheboi, obviously a festival of the gymnasium.⁶⁴

The inscriptional records of Italy and Sicily do not give a detailed list of contests as they do in other parts of the Greek world but, wherever the competitions are referred to, the indications are that the types of contest in all the games were essentially the same as at the great games of Greece.⁶⁵ The only local variations are a race for women at the Capitolia⁶⁶ (but even that was probably an imitation of Spartan custom), the agon *ἐν σκίλλαις* in Sicily,⁶⁷ and the *διὰ πάντων* and *ἐπινίκια* contests in Italy.⁶⁸ The classification of the contestants was also the same, and we find constant reference to *παῖδες*, *ἀγένειοι* and *ἄνδρες*. There is one specific reference⁶⁹ to the age of the entrants at the Augustalia at Naples, which states that boys must be over seventeen and under twenty years of age.

The *διὰ πάντων* and *ἐπινίκια* contests deserve special attention. In Greece these contests are comparatively rare, appearing only on some Boeotian programs, where the stress is on music and dramatic competitions. The meaning of the terms is doubtful, but in the case of the Boeotian festivals I have followed Mic in interpreting *διὰ πάντων*, which usually occurs at the end of the program, to mean a closing contest in music in which all contestants who had appeared before took part, and the *ἐπινίκια*

⁵² *Chron. Min.* ed. Mommsen, p. 147, 31; *CIG* 1068; *IG* 3169-70; VII 49; cf. Moretti *op.cit.* (supra n.20) nos. 88, 90.

⁵³ *Suet. Dom.* ch. 4; *Stat. Silv.* 3.5.28; 4.265; 5.3.227; *Martial* 9.23. Statius won the prize, a golden olive wreath, three times for poems on the Germanic and Dacian campaigns. This award, however, was not as highly prized as the wreath of natural oak leaves at the Capitolia. The festival probably ended with Domitian's death.

⁵⁴ *IG* XIV 714 (note mention in this inscription of *ἐπινίκια*, possibly a song of victory at the end of music programs; cf. mention of this contest in Boeotian lists *IG* VII 1773, 1776); *Hist. Aug. Vit. Alex. Sev.* ch. 35.

⁵⁵ *Car. Imp.* p. 648 ed. Mommsen; *CIG* 5923; *Euseb. Chron.* 277 (primus agon Solis ab Aureliano constitutus).

⁵⁶ *Supra*, n.52.

⁵⁷ *Herodian* 3.8.6.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*; *IG* XIV 1093.

⁵⁹ *Cohen, Med. Imp.* III 274.

⁶⁰ Cf. Orelli 2588; *CIG* 5924; *Cassiod. Var. Epp.* 5.42. Other festivals in Italy not included in this survey are an Athenaea at Rhegium (*IG* XIV 612); gymnastic games instituted by Caligula to celebrate Drusilla's birthday (*Dio* 59.9 and 13); games instituted by Claudius in honor of the triumph in Britain in A.D. 44; games for Hera at Sybaris at which a citharode was killed (*Herod.* 1.67).

⁶¹ *IG* XIV 422.

⁶² *Schol. Pindar Ol.* 6.162.

⁶³ *Diodor.* 11.71.

⁶⁴ *Schol. Theoc.* 7.106.

⁶⁵ Aside from the programs of the Sebasta listed in *Inscr.*

Ol. 56 (supra, notes 27-29), the following contests are mentioned in other inscriptional and literary sources: for the gymnastic program *πάλη*, *παλαιστής* (*IG* XIV 739; Moretti no. 77); *ἀνδρῶν πάλη* (Moretti no. 65); *πέστη* (*IG* XIV 755, Moretti no. 69); *ἀνδρῶν πυγμῆς* (Moretti no. 73); *δίαισις* (*IG* XIV 748); *ἀνδρῶν στάδιον* (Moretti no. 86); *δολιχοδρόμος* (Moretti no. 76); *ἀνδρῶν ἑλιχθῶν* (Moretti nos. 66, 78); *σταδιοδρόμος* (*IG* XIV 755, add.a); *παγκράτιον* (*IG* XIV 746, 747, 755, 1102); Moretti nos. 68, 79); *καίδων* and *καίδων Κλαυδιανῶν παγκράτιον* (Moretti nos. 71, 72); *ἀγενεῖων* and *ἀνδρῶν παγκράτιον* (Moretti nos. 67, 68); *πένταθλος* (*IG* XIV 754, 755; Moretti no. 86); *καίδων πυθικῶν πένταθλος* (Moretti no. 75); races for women at the Capitolia, discontinued later (Friedländer *op.cit.*, supra n. 41); for the equestrian program *ἀποβάτης* (*IG* XIV 754, 755); a "serpent ride" (*CIL* IV pl. xxxviii), which was probably a gymnastic exercise, for the juvenes; for the musical and dramatic program, *κήρυκας* (Moretti nos. 70, 74, 90); *αὐλήτης* (*IG* XIV 737); *πυθικός αὐλήτης* (Moretti no. 81); *τραγωδοῦς* (Moretti no. 74); *κωμφοῖ* (*IG* XIV 1097, 1098, 1114); *ὀνοκρίτης* (*IG* XIV 755, add.e); *κιθαροφῶδες*, *κιθαριστής χωροῦλης* (Friedländer *op.cit.*, supra n. 41); contests in poetry and oratory (*Suet. Dom.* ch.4; *Stat.* and *Martial, loc.cit.*, supra n. 54); *διὰ πάντων* (*IG* XIV 737, 1111); *ἐπινίκια* (*IG* XIV 747); [*Ἔωμης ἐπινίκια* (Moretti, no. 84).

⁶⁶ Friedländer *op.cit.*, supra n. 41.

⁶⁷ *Schol. Theoc. loc.cit.*, supra n. 65.

⁶⁸ *IG* XIV 737, 1111 (for the *διὰ πάντων*); *IG* 747 and Moretti, no. 84, line 15 (for the *ἐπινίκια*).

⁶⁹ Cf. supra, n. 33.

or song of victory as one type of this general contest.⁷⁰ In Italy the appearance of these terms in the victor lists is no doubt the result of increased emphasis on music and dramatic contests from the time of Augustus on. Certainly the awards which conferred the greatest distinction were the awards in this type of competition. The references to the Italian inscriptions throw no further light, however, on the meaning of the terms.

Some of the special customs associated with the Greek games seem to have taken hold in Italy. The guild of Dionysiac artists, which played so prominent a part in the Greek contests, functioned here also. An inscription from Naples⁷¹ honors one Aelius Antigenidas who throughout his life had been chief priest of the guild of Dionysiac artists. Athletes in Italy also organized themselves in synods or trade unions to preserve the privileges that had been conferred on them by Augustus.⁷² The most famous of these was the synod of Hercules instituted in the reign of Hadrian, and transferred by him from Sardis to Rome. This synod became the headquarters for all athletic unions of the Empire. The records of the great synod were kept in a house near the baths of Trajan, and near the site of the great Capitolia games.⁷³ One inscription⁷⁴ records the names of members of this guild who had given money as well as statues to honor their dead leaders. Among the names is that of one woman, Zotica, who apparently had acted as treasurer of the synod. She lived near the baths of Titus, where the Heracleistae apparently had a club house in the time of Antoninus Pius. A papyrus in the British Museum⁷⁵ which seems to be a diploma of membership in this synod throws some further light on the character of the organization. The officials

were all eminent athletes from different parts of the Empire.⁷⁶

Another organization, and one that meant most to the Romans according to Gardiner, were the groups of Juvenes, the only organized attempt in Italy at physical education. The training was to a great extent military and gymnastic, but some education in the liberal arts was also included.⁷⁷ Much of the evidence for the Juvenes comes from Pompeii, where the group had a gymnasium provided with baths and a club house. In the military part of the training the emphasis was on horsemanship, and an inscription from Pompeii praises one Septimus of the Juvenes in the following terms: "If you have seen the skill with which Septimus performs the serpent ride, whether you are a lover of the shows or of horses, you will tip the scales evenly."⁷⁸ Whether the training of the Juvenes was in any way aimed at participation in the agones is open to question. There is some likelihood, however, that this was the case in the time of Nero and Domitian, when special games called Juvenalia were instituted and when special emphasis was being placed on Greek revivals.

Such, in brief, is the story of agonistic festivals in Italy and Sicily. In this account I have made no attempt to describe the many Roman games that were part of the daily life of the Romans from the earliest times.⁷⁹ These games were all free; and during their performance all public business was stopped. By the end of the Republic 66 days were taken up by these performances, and under Marcus Aurelius 135 days were closed to business.⁸⁰ Under Constantius II, 176 festivals were celebrated each year in Rome.⁸¹

For the most part, however, these ludi were of

tinctive characteristic of the ancient Romans, their passion for education. The unique feature of their ideal of citizenship was not their insistence that every man should be prepared to bear arms for his country, but that he should know his country's law, memorize the twelve tables."

⁷⁰ Cf. Ringwood *op.cit.* (supra n. 1) 50f.; cf. Moretti *op.cit.* (supra n. 20) 217.

⁷¹ IG XIV 737.

⁷² Dio 52.30; Suet. *Aug.* ch. 45; cf. IG XIV 1102.

⁷³ Cf. Gardiner *op.cit.* (supra n. 7) 106.

⁷⁴ IG XIV 956, A 24 and B 15.

⁷⁵ B.M. *Papyri* III 1178.

⁷⁶ Other clubs, located at Naples, were the "Augustan and Claudian boys" (supra note 34), and the holy itinerant (ἁγιοπολιτικὴ) synod of the Alexandrini (cf. Mie, *Quaestiones Agonisticae* 46).

⁷⁷ Cf. article by S. L. Mohler in *AJP* 68 (1937) 442-79. Mohler summarizes the aims of the organization as follows: "The Juvenes were school boys, organized to further a natural interest in sports and to promote the social life of which all Romans were so extravagantly fond. . . . The prestige of the Juvenes was due to their association with the process of education, conceived broadly as embracing physical and spiritual, as well as mental training, and vividly illustrates the most dis-

⁷⁸ *CIL* IV 1795 and *JOAI* 18 (1915) pls. 65, 116, 115-119; Suet. *Aug.* ch. 42.

⁷⁹ Cf. Liv. 1.9; Plut. *Romulus* 14; Varro, *de ling. lat.*; for summary accounts of Roman games cf. H. W. Johnston, *Private Life of the Romans* (Chicago 1932) 244; M. Cary and T. J. Haarhoff, *Life and Thought in the Greek and Roman World* (London 1942) 157-59; W. Warde Fowler, *Social Life of Rome in the Age of Cicero* (New York 1909) 285-318; F. F. Abbott and A. C. Johnson, *Municipal Adm. of Roman Empire* (Princeton 1926) 145; G. Wissowa, *Religion and Kultus der Römer* (Munich 1912) 449-67; article on *ludi* in *DarSag.*

⁸⁰ H. W. Johnston *op.cit.* (supra n. 79) 244.

⁸¹ Abbott and Johnson *op.cit.* (supra n. 79) 145.

entirely different character from the Greek agones, stressing the spectacular and amusing, and toning down the competitive element. It is true that athletic contests were introduced into these Roman *ludi* in very early times, and the Romans seemed to realize the entertainment value of some of the professional athletic performances. The chief events in the earliest times were chariot and horse races, and fights between boxers. Dramatic performances (*ludi scaenici*) are said to have been introduced in 364 B.C., at first consisting of simple dances or pantomimes with flute, and later of poetry contests.⁸² From the second century B.C. Greek gymnasts and jockeys were hired to perform at the Roman popular festivals; they aroused considerable interest.⁸³

There can be no question that these *ludi* and the *munera*, introduced in 264 B.C. by Marcus and Decimus Brutus,⁸⁴ continued to be the favorite forms of amusement for the Romans throughout their history. But a more searching study of the Greek festivals in Italy has revealed the fact that the agones, far from remaining a mere adjunct of the older Roman games, became the pattern of some of the most celebrated festivals of the Empire. True, the Italians probably never acquired the feeling for the agones that would have inspired a Pindaric Ode, but they unquestionably had a genuine appreciation of them as spectacles, and cultivated them more and more as time went on. The complaints of men like Cicero and Seneca were no doubt the protests of the intellectual and the philosopher, and

did not necessarily reflect the attitude of the average Italian. Tacitus is reporting the objections of some of the populace in the time of Nero, but he adds that the festival was conducted without any untoward incidents. Indeed, there is some evidence, at least in the later Empire, that these protests represented the opinion of a very small minority. Galen finds it necessary to warn young men in their choice of a profession not to give preference to athletics above useful arts and knowledge; in that direction, he observes, they could easily be led by the popular favor accorded to the games.⁸⁵ For other evidence one need only recall the long rows of victorious athletes pictured on the floor of the baths of Caracalla.

In taking over the agonistic contests from the Greeks, the Romans introduced no significant changes in the program of the festivals. Indeed, there is little or no mention of any native type of athletic contest in the celebrations. For this locality, therefore, I draw the same conclusion as I have for other parts of the Greek world. The regular Panhellenic program is maintained in all its essential features, and local deviations are rare indeed. In Italy as elsewhere the tradition of the great games was too venerable to tamper with, and it is even possible that some of the Emperors consciously maintained the tradition as another unifying factor in the Empire.

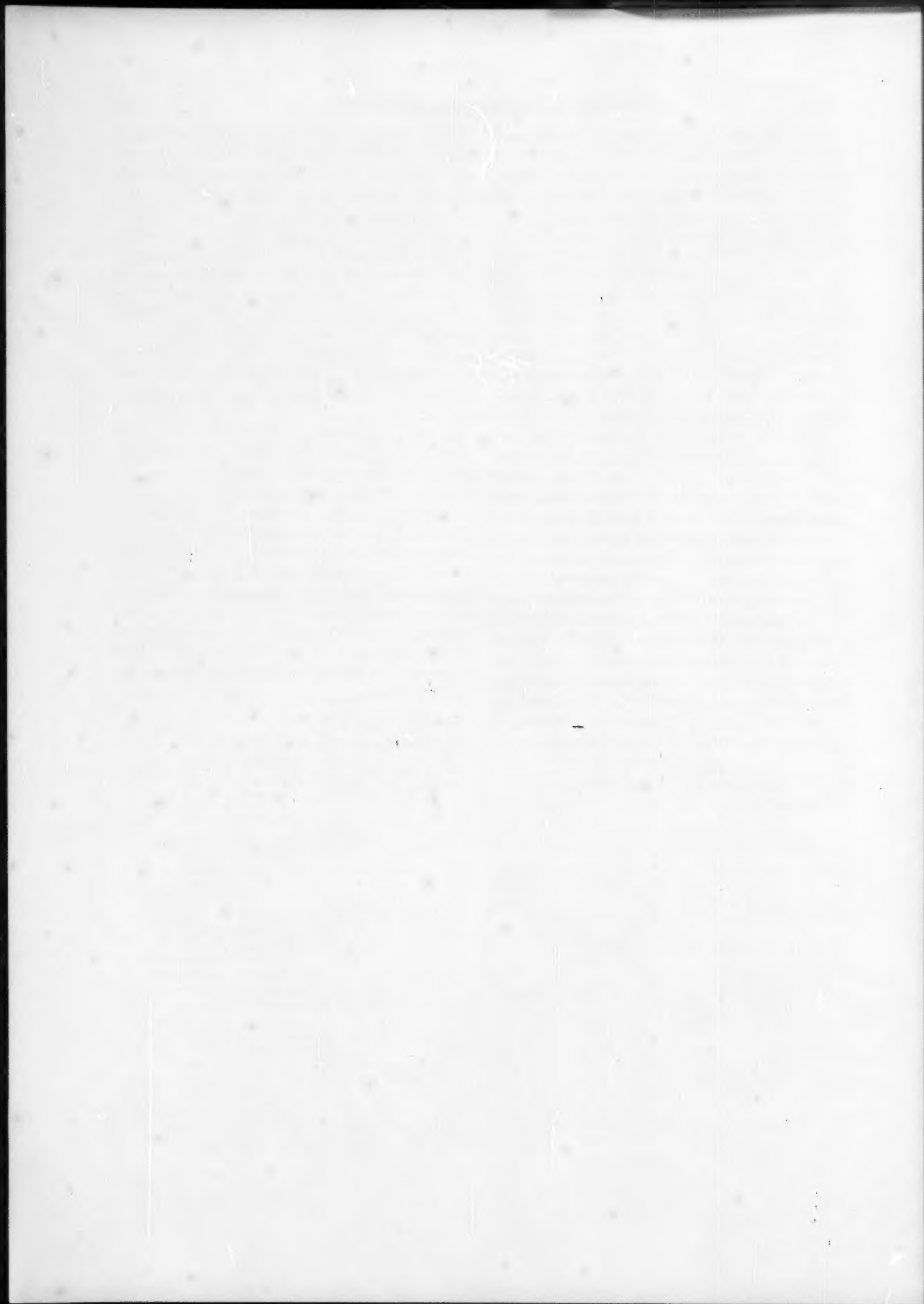
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⁸² Article on *ludi* in *DarSag*.

⁸³ Cary and Haarhoff *op.cit.* (supra n. 79) 157.

⁸⁴ Val. Max. 2.4.7.

⁸⁵ *πρωτρεπτ. λογ.* ch. 9.



The Spinning Aphrodite in Sculpture

ELMER G. SUHR

PLATES 63-64

The Heyl Collection in Berlin includes (pl. 63, fig. 1) one of the most charming terracotta figures from Myrina,¹ one whose rhythm of line is more attractive, in its dynamic flow, than that of the Melian Aphrodite, whose thrust and counterthrust have achieved a most subtle and convincing balance; the loss of the right leg below the knee makes her position seem precarious. An irresistible undulating line along a diagonal direction, beginning at the right foot and crossing over to the position of the left hand, serves as a *leitmotif* of this musical pattern; it rises rather modestly to the left thigh and then repeats itself in increasingly exuberant crescendos until it exhausts itself over the right arm and left breast. The body, without being strained, bends outward at the right hip, achieves only a momentary perpendicular below the right arm where it glides off again to the left, culminating in the head as it bends down to the right. One cannot escape the impression that this figure is a reduced version of a larger and striking monumental piece.

The dress of the figure, the stephane and the bracelet on the left arm point to an identification with the Heavenly Aphrodite. The raised left shoulder suggests an attempt to keep the object in the left hand at a given height, regardless of the movement on the right side which, as the back view indicates, was forward and downward, as the right hand and arm moved away from and then back to the left hand. These are the movements required of the upper body of a standing spinner *actually* engaged in spinning. The attention of the head need not be directed to a task so familiar it has become habitual. The projected knee, in addition to pivoting the upper body in its motion, could be used for rotating the spindle, when the right hand is not reaching upward for the fibres of the distaff (pl. 63, fig. 2). The figurine is .038 m. high. It has been

dated in the second century B.C. It is very unlikely that the hands held anything more than a token of the spinning equipment.²

One can easily see how this motive lost much of its original charm by glancing at a bronze (pl. 63, fig. 3), well preserved, long recognized as a spinner but little noted.³ Now in the Lateran Museum, it is said to have come from Ostia. Standing sixty centimeters in height, the statuette presents a nude Aphrodite holding her hands and arms in much the same position as the figurine of the Heyl Collection. The left shoulder is again higher than the right, the left arm is raised for holding the distaff, while the head and eyes direct their attention to the left hand. The right leg is crossed over the left one which carries nearly all the figure's weight; this makes the balance of the body a precarious one, especially when we follow the right hand in its motion downward and to the side. The leg position was evidently derived from the spinning Eros, another off balance figure surviving on the gem in Berlin and elsewhere.⁴ The sculptor, then, has brought together in this bronze a compromise between two types of spinner (the profile and full-face types), then crowned it with a round, obvious head whose hair, parted in the center, rolls to each side in heavy strands below the unusual stephane.

We are told that every part of the figure is preserved intact, a fact which provides us with sound evidence for its identification as a spinner and also gives us clues to other figures whose arms or hands are missing. It lacks the vitality and rhythm of movement, the integration of body motion with the desired functional end—it cannot be called a moving spinner in the same sense as the Myrina figurine. The anatomy is sensually flabby, the figure, with its frontal emphasis, calls as much attention to itself as the Medici Venus. There is, however, no doubt that

¹ G. Kleiner: *Jdl 15tes Ergaenzungsheft* (Berlin 1942) 249ff, pl. 48. Here are listed other references. Also S. Reinach: *GBA* 7 (1932) 246, fig. 17.

² A number of terracottas (e.g. Kleiner *op.cit.* [supra n.1] pl. 42) bring both arms to the left to play the kithara, the instrument supported on a raised left leg, but this activity in no way disturbs the even line of the shoulders.

³ *MonInst* 9, pl. VIII; *Annali* (1869) 211f; Bernoulli: *Aphrodite* 349-50; S. Reinach: *Rép. de la Stat.* II¹ 359, 1.

⁴ *AJA* 58 (1954) pl. 1, fig. 3. Let me state here that I am in full agreement with Professor Carpenter's interpretation of the "Pothos" as a spinning Eros; the Marathon Boy, however, should be restored as holding an alabastrotheke, illustrated frequently on vases (*RM* 64 [1957] pl. 34, 3).

we have here a spinning Aphrodite whose antecedents reach back at least to the naturalism of the Hellenistic period.

One episode in the career of Herakles brings the hero to the court of Omphale in Lydia where, as a punishment for the wanton murder of Iphitus, he was sentenced to spend some time in the queen's service.⁵ She at once exchanged garments with him, sporting his club and lion's skin, while he, dressed in female attire, was ordered to spin thread in the women's quarters. This episode which, for the late Greeks and Romans, was a period of comic embarrassment for Herakles was actually a reflection of the old *iepeis yámos*, a ritual designed for fertility purposes and poignantly presented in a marble group of the National Museum of Naples.⁶ The hero holds the spinning equipment so awkwardly it is clear he hardly knows how to begin operations and has already entangled the thread in his garments, while the coquettish Omphale watches her bungling mate with an expression of amused mockery. This illustration cannot be taken for an example of serious spinning, although the equipment is more fully detailed than elsewhere in sculpture; much the same is true of many such humorous presentations of the clumsy, muscular hero plying the distaff. One more example will suffice: a statue in Rome⁷ gives us a comic view of Herakles, again in feminine attire, holding a distaff above his head as though he were lashing out against a monster with his club; the spindle has been omitted.

There is, however, one important exception in the form of a small bronze (pl. 63, fig. 4) in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore,⁸ one of the better examples of a spinner, presented in the round, which we can use as a point of departure. Here, if anywhere, Herakles is attacking the problem as though he had already served a period of apprenticeship, as an over-serious craftsman still ill at ease with his occupation. We must admit that the work still has a strong element of the comic, for the burly figure of the hero, attempting to be delicate, obviously borders on the

grotesque that was such a delight to the public of the day; the slender fingers given to the large left hand only exaggerate this effect. Like the bronze Aphrodite in the Lateran, it is especially informative because the arms and hands are preserved in their proper position. Somewhere in our museums we may be reasonably sure there is an Omphale gazing down in amused bewilderment at her companion's efforts.

The spinning equipment is not to be seen, nor do I believe it was added in ancient times (the bronze is probably Alexandrian or early Roman), for this addition would hardly improve such a statuette from an aesthetic standpoint; we may be sure it was also omitted from other figures of the same class. It was superfluous to add the equipment in ancient times because everyone was familiar with the spinning motive in the household, whereas the modern sees it only rarely. The figure is .095 m. in height.⁹ The support beneath the left foot is modern, but there can be no doubt that such a support was necessary; it adds something to facilitate the spinning and helps toward the identification of the motive. This statuette, even more than the figurine in the Heyl Collection, is an excellent example from the school of naturalism, and since it is entirely nude, we can study the spinner's anatomy in action, especially the effect on the back and shoulders of the diagonal movement of the right arm; we shall find others in monumental sculpture that compare well with this Herakles. The artist must have been very familiar with spinning figures in a standing posture, not only with the position of hands and fingers but with the raised left leg common to a large number.

We make no claim that all spinners stood in the position of this bronze; we know very well that this position would be somewhat difficult and therefore tiring, that spinners could stand, holding the distaff under the left armpit, that they could also be seated, but for the purposes of an agreeable figure in art an effort was made to combine a beautifully balanced position with what was possible and recognizable to the general public.¹⁰

authority on bronzes, is now inclined to regard the statuette as genuine.

¹⁰ The authorities of the past century and our own day have consistently neglected to study the spinning position of ancient figures and have therefore failed to recognize it in the obvious example on a vase in Berlin (Antiquarium No. 2688; Verrall and Harrison: *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens* 214, fig. 12). A good photograph is not available because the vase is still in war storage. The subject has been dealt with in my popular version, *Venus de Milo—The Spinner* (New York 1958) 66f.

⁵ Apollodorus 2.6.3; Diodorus 4.31.

⁶ No. 299/6406; *AJA* 57 (1953) pl. 73.

⁷ S. Reinach: *Rép. de la Stat.* I 475, pl. 802E; also *Rép. de Peint.* 82, 2.

⁸ D. K. Hill: *Cat. of Class. Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore 1949) 50, pl. 23, no. 102.

⁹ The type is unusual for Herakles, but I believe it is genuine; the few surface spots can hardly militate against its authenticity—how could a forger, unless he had a good knowledge of hand spinning, have reproduced the motive so exactly, one so few authorities have been able to identify? Miss Hill, a well known

The large head with its heavy, woolly beard calls to mind the Farnese type of Herakles, no doubt going back to an original by Lysippos. He appears to be looking down at his spindle with discomfiture, for although his position is correct, and the fingering accurate, the task is one of nervous strain for the somatonic type; he has not yet mastered the muscular coordination so that he can look away from his occupation. The short neck is not visible from the front because his beard extends down over the top of the chest. The muscular torso, with chest barrelling out to the same extent as the abdomen, betrays a slight twist due to the upward reach of the left hand, the downward pull of the right hand and the raised left leg, a combination of thrusts characteristic of most standing spinners; the raised left leg is designed to help the left hand with the elevation of the distaff and so to maintain a given length of thread, which in turn makes the body seem contorted from the rear view. Herakles is, of course, under a strain which makes the posture appear more difficult than elsewhere.

The line below the chest and the Polykleitan borderline between abdomen and legs show plainly the inclination of the torso to the right. The left arm is raised so that the elbow is almost in line with the shoulder, the forearm brought around to keep the distaff at a high level, approximately on a line with the eyes, if the head were in a normal position on the neck. The left hand is plainly cupped to hold the distaff and its flax, the fingers placed so the fibers could be drawn either between the first and second or any of the other two fingers. The right arm reaches down as far as possible to reach either the thread or the top of the spindle; the thumb and forefinger are pressed together for either twisting or twirling, the little finger hanging down below the others. The raised left leg, pushed some distance away from the other, functions as a pivot to keep the body in a steady position while the right hand moves upward and leftward on a diagonal to the distaff and then back to the spindle.¹¹ There is also a possibility that the Egyptian custom was followed, that the spindle was kept in motion by giving it an occasional push or roll against the side of the thigh (I have seen no clear example in Greek art). The position of the spinner's body,

¹¹ It would have been a happier solution to project the left knee instead of keeping the two legs almost parallel, but the more awkward the posture, the more amusing he promised to be for his public.

then, in relation to the arms and legs is almost unmistakable; it can hardly be engaged in any other occupation. Since the body of Herakles is entirely nude, he need not be concerned about entangling the thread in the folds of a garment—frequently the women in the household dispensed with flowing garments when spinning.

The Roman Herakles, who loathed spinning, turns out, by an ironic quirk of fate, to be one of the more reliable examples of the spinner we can use for the study of others in monumental sculpture. The bronze is apparently a copy, with very little deviation, of a type of standing spinner created perhaps as far back as the fourth century and is therefore very important to our study.

The British Museum owns a terracotta¹² that repeats many of the features of the bronze Herakles without the comic implications (pl. 63, fig. 5). The height of this Aphrodite is given as 1'3½". Like so many terracottas it was put together from a number of fragments, leaving only the two hands missing. A mature standing figure, she has a body structure and position somewhat akin to the Myrina figurine in Berlin, but in this case the head is directed to the right hand, and both the body and drapery are wanting in vitality and rhythmic continuity. Again we can easily supply the distaff and spindle of the creation goddess, even though the artist had no intention of placing the equipment in her hands.

Although the head is crowned with a stephane, the long wavy tresses are allowed to fall down the back, along the shoulders and extended left arm. The usual pleasant expression of the face is directed to the activity of the right hand which, in this case, is raised at the elbow as it reaches out a short way from the body. The head, in addition to the stephane, is surmounted by two short horns, one on each side. The left arm juts out on a level with the shoulder, bends around, then raises the hand a little higher until it reaches to the height of the chin, an effort that again lifts the left side of the body to a greater height than the other side. The right hip protrudes because most of the body's weight rests on the right leg, while the other leg, resting on a higher base, anchors the moving torso above. We should also notice that this half nude

¹² Second Vase Room (1878) S. 85, 23; R. Kekulé von Stradonitz: *Die Antiken Terrakotten* (Berlin u. Stuttgart 1884) II pl. XLVII, 4.

goddess is in no way concerned about the drapery slipping from her hips. For our purposes she is especially interesting because the arms have been fortunately preserved in their proper position to illustrate their function on a standing spinner.

The Aphrodite of Capua¹⁸ in the National Museum of Naples was found in the amphitheatre of the Campanian city some time in the middle of the eighteenth century, first set up in the palace of Caserta before it was finally moved to its present location (pl. 63, fig. 6). The restored portions include the two arms just below the shoulders, the nose, the end of the garment over the left foot and a fragment overlapping the left knee. The statue was restored by the sculptor Angiolo Brunelli under the assumption that the left hand fitted around a spear which served as a partial support, while the right hand was directed to a standing Eros; it was taken for granted that, in the original setting, the mother was reproving her wayward son.¹⁴ Later Wolters¹⁵ and Furtwaengler¹⁶ suggested she was holding a shield against her knee, at the same time admiring the beauty of her reflection in the piece of armor; the helmet below the left foot, it was generally claimed, denoted her triumph over the god of war. Bernoulli¹⁷ considered the restoration of the arms a faulty one.

The merit of the restoration depends on what manner of interpretation we give for the original sculptor's intention and how well it fits the movement of the body; if the goddess is meant to be chiding her mischievous son, the right arm is too relaxed for a reproving gesture; if she is holding a shield with both hands, the position of the arms and hands must be altered—neither one of these interpretations offers any explanation for the moving upper part of the body and so neither fits into the picture of the whole composition, especially from a rear view. If we can be certain that the eyes are directed to some object held in the right hand, we may consider the present position of the arms as approximately correct, but there is another possibility in her line of

vision; moreover, we can be fairly sure, from an examination of the right shoulder, that the right forearm was extended a little lower to control an object at that level. An Eros, whose footprints were said to survive on the base,¹⁹ would not be out of place in her company, but not as the childish subject of rebuke; he might also serve as the focus of her attention, if he was in the proper position before her, while her hands were otherwise occupied. It also appears likely, in view of the probable position of the arms, that the goddess was meant to be seen from the side.¹⁹

The body gives the observer a three-quarters view, one that permits the subject to display her activity to good advantage without interference from the arms. We must also note the nude torso that gives her full freedom of movement. If we allow for the changes, already suggested, in the arms and fingers, her position would be an appropriate one for spinning, one somewhat like that of the spinning Eros holding both arms to his left side; again, the spinner's equipment was not added at all. The left knee is pushed considerably far forward, the foot raised on a helmet which has a definite significance without referring to any romantic conquest over the god of war. The legs are enveloped in drapery, the feet are bare.

One glance at the rear of this statue²⁰ should be enough to convince us that the goddess, although standing still on the spot, is engaged in an operation that calls for movement from the right arm and a certain degree of motion from the upper part of the body, a fact which helps to create a paradox when a shield²¹ or another object, placed in one or both hands, suggests a static posture. This dynamic portrayal of movement in the body of a late Greek or Roman statue is often put down as a mark of affectation, but this goddess is a moving figure stabilizing herself on one leg, a figure moving toward a functional end, and it is very doubtful, in my opinion, if any sculptor of the time would have run the risk of making his work appear ridiculous by giving

¹⁸ Brunn-Bruckmann pl. 297; M. Bieber: *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York 1955) 26; A. Furtwaengler: *Masterpieces* 385, fig. 170.

¹⁴ Cf. J. Millingen: *Ancient Unedited Monuments London*, Series II, Statues, Busts, Bas-Reliefs (1926) 5, pl. v. A short extension of each arm has survived, and the present restoration has not made it easier to extend them farther. Millingen also claims she probably held a shield in her hands.

¹⁵ *Gipsabgüsse Ant. Bildwerke* (Berlin 1885) 1452.

¹⁶ *op.cit.* (supra n. 13) 386.

¹⁷ *Aphrodite* 160.

¹⁸ *L'Art* 8 (1877) 68; S. Reinach: *Rép. de la Stat.* I, 320, 6.

¹⁹ Had the restorer observed that the upper part of the body is in motion, that the right arm is included in the movement, he might have done much better. I must admit, of course, that I have never examined the statue at close range in Naples. Here it is interesting to note that S. Reinach (*GBA* 7 [1932] 246) suggested that the attention of the Heyl terracotta was also directed to an Eros below.

²⁰ Furtwaengler: *op.cit.* (supra n. 13) fig. 170.

²¹ Cf. O. Broneer: *The "Armed Aphrodite" on Acrocorinth and the Aphrodite of Capua*, Univ. of California Publications in Class. Archaeology, Vol. I, No. 2 (Berkeley 1930) 84.

so much dynamic rhythm to a motionless figure, simply holding one or two attributes in her hands. The type of which the work is a reflection was evidently popular in post-Alexandrian times.²² Because of the movement given to this version of Aphrodite it has been advocated that this adaptation in favor of a more naturalistic treatment can be traced back to the fourth century,²³ to the sculptor Scopas,²⁴ and I agree he is the most likely candidate, but I believe that this Aphrodite, except for the emphasis on the profile view and the inclination of the head, has a close kinship with her sister of Melos. Since a seated version of the latter was known, I believe, as far back as the fifth century, the Aphrodite of Capua looms up as a relatively important variation of the Melian type. There is also a strong probability that this statue has a more distant affinity to a Victory type, but this statement includes neither the raised left leg nor the moving torso that belong to a spinner in her own right.²⁵ The Victory may be a standing or a walking figure, but it has nothing of the twist characteristic of the spinner executed after the fourth century.

O. Broneer²⁶ has called attention to a marble statuette found in the excavations of Corinth, which he calls a derivative of the Capuan Aphrodite. The two shoulders are on the same level, there is no apparent twist in the body, no inclination forward, and the right forearm does not seem to be in the same position as that of the Capuan, all of which argues against a moving figure; she is much nearer the Venus Torlonia in the Villa Albani (No. 733).²⁷ It is hard to think of either one as an active spinner.

The similarity of the Capuan Aphrodite to that of Melos in general expression, dress, and the position of the legs is so striking it is difficult to think of one apart from the other; there are, on the other hand, marked stylistic differences which a close examination will reveal: the Capuan²⁸ has a harsh surface treatment in both the cold features of the face and the brittle folds of the drapery that preserves the stony sterility of marble for the sense of sight as well as of touch; despite the good impres-

sion it creates from a distance, it has all the earmarks of a clever Roman copy. Bernoulli²⁹ is probably right in dating it at the beginning of the second century A.D. As a creation goddess she is not concerned, whatever the Roman or the modern may have read into the composition, about any amatory connection with Ares, about the nudity of the upper part of her body and feet, about the possibility of the drapery slipping from the left hip. She is definitely a spinning goddess contributing her share to the fertility of the earth and man.

Several questions are now in order: though the goddess is not too conscious of her semi-nudity, we may still ask why she was represented in this way. Why is the left leg raised above the level of the other? If her connection with Ares is not amatory, what is the meaning of the helmet, and why do we find him so frequently in her company? Why the forward thrust of the left leg? Why are the feet without sandals? These features occur too frequently in the presentation of a spinner to be ignored as common denominators of some significance, but before answering these questions, it will be well to consider the next representative in sculpture to whom these same features apply. I have listed them at this point because it will be advantageous to keep them in mind as we consider her next of kin.

For many years the baffling problem of the Aphrodite of Melos³⁰ has been crowned with a ridiculous significance by the archaeologist and restorer, who insist on placing in her hands one or more attributes that suggest a static position for a body highly indicative of some kind of movement, especially in the right arm. Somewhat overrated as a piece of art (pl. 64, fig. 7) she has called forth ecstatic praises from the romantic writers and artists, all the way from Hugo to Rodin;³¹ fascinated by the rhythm of a body surmounted with a serenely contented face, many of her admirers were more than happy to regard her as a greater work of art in a fragmentary condition than in her original completeness, whatever that may have been. The romance of her discovery and voyage to France in the early

²² For replicas see Bernoulli: *Aphrodite* 162.

²³ O. Broneer: *op.cit.* (supra n. 21) 83.

²⁴ M. Bieber: *op.cit.* (supra n. 13) 26.

²⁵ I believe it is still sound to claim that the Victory of Brescia and her close relatives are akin to but somewhat removed from either the Melian Aphrodite or her sister, the Capuan example (cf. F. G. v. Ravensburg: *Die Venus von Milo* [Heidelberg 1879] 58).

²⁶ *Hesperia* 16 (1947) 244-46, pl. LXIV, 28.

²⁷ S. Reinach: *Rép. de la Stat.* I, 322, 5.

²⁸ A. Furtwaengler: *op.cit.* (supra n. 13) fig. 171.

²⁹ *Aphrodite* 161.

³⁰ Brunn-Bruckmann pl. 298; G. Rodenwaldt in *Die Kunst der Antike* Berlin (Propyläen Verlag) (1927) pl. 480; M. Bieber: *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* figs. 673-77; Ency. Photo—*Le Mus. du Louvre* (ed. Tel) III, pls. 200-203.

³¹ A. Rodin: *Venus* (New York 1912) 16f.

nineteenth century was an added attraction.³² She has been restored so many times in cast and drawing, with little success, that many authorities have baldly declared that the problem is beyond the possibility of solution. It is a tribute to the Greek artist, even though he belong to a late period, that so many people of such varied tastes and temperaments have found in this armless Aphrodite some form of self-identification, without any knowledge of the original function of her arms and body and her full significance to the ancient world. In her present state one would hardly suspect she had any association with the fertility symbolism of the east.

Authorities have long recognized in this work an eclectic piece of sculpture, rather typical of the Hellenistic period.³³ The drapery around the legs has distant affinities with examples from the Parthenon pediments, the expression of the head is reminiscent of the Cnidian Aphrodite of the fourth century, and the dynamic rhythm of the body which, along with the drapery, adds much to the pleasing play of shadow effects, stems from the post-Alexandrian era. The damaged portions include the tip of the nose, the tip of the left breast, the left foot and a portion of the drapery above it, the base for the same foot, the big toe of the right foot, and the lobes of the ears which were torn off with the earrings; the chin and lips were only slightly damaged. It is generally known that the figure was put together from a number of pieces, that the left arm too was made from a separate piece of marble.

The left shoulder with its prominent muscle is raised considerably higher than the right one; the muscle structure indicates that the goddess was holding something aloft in the left hand. The serene features of the face, like those of the Cnidian, show no sign or expression of concentration on any object in time or space, so she is not likely to be paying attention to an object in either hand, but the mere fact that she turns her head to the left points to an important function or object held in the left hand. Of course, the proper balance of the figure requires an extension of the left arm, and if the function or

object in the hand is trivial, the orientation of the head and the twist of the upper torso is at once purposeless. The right arm, as the preserved stump indicates, should come down almost across the middle of the body to a point very near the projecting left knee. The extension of the arm across the abdomen will then present a chiasmic scheme of dominant lines in the center of the figure, although the right arm is not meant to extend far beyond the left knee; carried to a greater length, it would make the cross too obviously symmetrical. Instead, the line of the hand loses itself in running somewhat parallel to the line of the knee, and in this way the single line points effectively to the function of the right hand. The hand reaching across the middle also partially distracts the attention from the rather violent twist of the torso which, in the present state of the statue, is a little too obvious.

The weight of the body is carried for the most part by the right leg, leaving the left leg to jut out forward, a projection emphasized, from the standpoint of the observer, because the left foot is raised above the level of the other; if there was at one time an object in addition to the raised base beneath the left foot (which seems very probable), it is now among the missing parts.³⁴ The bare feet and the legs face decidedly to the right, while the face turns to the left in the direction of the left hand, as if calling attention indirectly to some object held up to view. The numerous attempts at restoration, which have little or no support from other branches of Greek art, have encouraged her worshippers in the conviction that, in her present state, she is a glorified example of romantic imperfection.³⁵ Can she possibly be made as attractive in a restored version?

I have no intention of treating separately all the restorations that have been proposed, but some of them must be considered to throw some light on the problem the statue poses and why so many attempts have gone astray. In one hand Millingen and Overbeck have placed a shield, supposed to serve as a mirror or tablet for writing, a solution that is objectionable because, among other reasons, it con-

³² E. Michon, *REG* 13 (1900) 302-70, and 15 (1902) 11-31, gives a full discussion of the early history of the statue and the fragments associated with it.

³³ Many of the damaged areas on the statue have been repaired in the course of time.

³⁴ For a more detailed discussion of this and other related problems see Overbeck: *Gesch. der Gr. Plastik* (Leipzig 1894) II 383-96; M. Collignon: *Gesch. der Gr. Plastik* (Strassburg 1898) II 504-13.

³⁵ The difficulties that beset a restorer in the face of the subjective and sentimental value the public has attached to a mutilated piece of art are expounded by Ch. Garnier (*GBA* 29 [1870] 334). Because the Aphrodite has been evaluated so many times I have not taken the trouble to describe all the details. For a more aesthetic approach see Ch. Blanc (*GBA* 17 [1864] 300) and G. Krahmer (*RM* 38-39 [1923-24] 140f) who deals with her as a moving figure, an example of centrifugal rhythm.

ceals the whole left side of the figure.³⁶ De Quincy and Ravaisson added the figure of Ares; the amatory connection between the two divinities has been stressed in a similar grouping by zur Strassen,³⁷ one that places the goddess in a very ambiguous position: her left arm reaches out to welcome him, while with her projected left knee she seems to be pushing him to one side; such a grouping is not to be found in ancient sculpture until Roman times. Tarral seems to have been more successful than others in restoring the arms to their proper position, but the functions he assigns to them are trivial. The apple in the left hand makes the latter's position rather meaningless, and as S. Reinach³⁸ writes, she has no need of holding up her drapery with the right hand. The version of Hasse,³⁹ who busies her left hand with the diadem, presents us with a posture out of keeping with the expression of the face; the position of the arms in the drawing of Hasse and Henke⁴⁰ is also meaningless.

Among other restorations the most significant include the following: that of Bell, holding a wreath in each hand, makes Aphrodite look like a juggler.⁴¹ The latest version by Saloman,⁴² holding a dove in the right hand and keeping the left hand at rest is both awkward and disturbing. Von Ravensburg⁴³ placed an apple in one hand and extended the other hand downward to hold the drapery in position; he placed too much confidence in the fragments found with the statue. That of Valentin,⁴⁴ as a surprised bather, is again out of keeping with the expression of the face. Kiel⁴⁵ placed a lance in both hands (pl. 64, fig. 8) and Haeblerlin⁴⁶ added a scepter in the right, an apple in the left hand. Furtwaengler⁴⁷ placed an apple in the left hand which, in turn, is supported on a pillar, while the right hand reaches down to hold up the drapery (pl. 64, fig. 9). S. Reinach,⁴⁸ for a long time loath to add

another candidate to this formidable number, at one time declared the problem could not be solved; eventually he too yielded⁴⁹ by calling the goddess an Amphitrite and reconstructing her with the Poseidon of Melos, on the basis of what he called good inscriptional evidence, a solution which has met with little favor among authorities. There remains to mention the incredible painting by del Mar⁵⁰ who converted a Greek goddess into a Christian madonna. Numerous other conjectures and restorations have been suggested, all of which we have not included because they either repeat with little variation those we have mentioned or are of little consequence (the goddess has been called Sappho, Phryne, Nemesis, a mourning Electra and a lyre-playing Muse, all on very flimsy evidence). During recent years archaeologists and critics have been content to admire her in a fragmentary state without putting any faith in the restorations of the past.

A number of fragments,⁵¹ including a hand holding an apple, were supposedly found with the statue on the island of Melos in 1820, remains that have influenced several of the restorations listed above. Should they carry any weight in determining the position of the arms? Close examination has revealed them to be of the same marble as the statue, but the workmanship is so inferior they have been regarded as part of a reconstruction of ancient times.⁵² For this reason it would constitute a risk to associate them with the original statue itself. Another disturbing factor has been the pillar or some object reaching up vertically on the left side of the figure. There is no reason why such an object—be it a pillar, an urn or even a swan—was not originally in this place, but why must it be used as a support for the left arm? The goddess, whose left arm reached to a considerable height, can still be re-

³⁶ This objection was first expressed by Bernoulli (*Aphrodite* 147); cf. E. Suehle: *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst* 6 (1871) 92.

³⁷ S. Reinach: *GBA* 66 (1890) 389. This grouping was made popular by the Romans of the empire and adapted to imperial portraiture, e.g. the group of Hadrian and Sabina (*GBA* 43 [1954] 219, fig. 13) and that of Commodus and Crispina (*GBA* 11 [1923] 243-47), both in the guise of Mars and Venus (de Milo).

³⁸ S. Reinach: *ibid.* 390. His restoration is reproduced on p. 377. One glance at the Aphrodite of Nocero will convince anyone that the Melian need not be concerned about falling drapery (O. Bronner gives the best illustration in *The "Armed Aphrodite" and the Aphrodite of Capua* [Berkeley 1930] fig. 2).

³⁹ S. Reinach: *ibid.* 381.

⁴⁰ P. Carus: *The Venus of Milo* (Chicago 1916) 32.

⁴¹ S. Reinach: *GBA* 79 (1896) 333. The restoration is re-

produced on p. 331; also in P. Carus: *op.cit.* (supra n. 40) 31.

⁴² P. Carus: *ibid.* 34.

⁴³ *Die Venus von Milo* (Heidelberg 1879) 68f.

⁴⁴ S. Reinach: *GBA* 66 (1890) 385.

⁴⁵ *Die Venus von Milo* (Hannover 1882) frontispiece.

⁴⁶ *Studien zur Aphrodite von Melos* (Goettingen 1889); for a review by V. Valentin see *Repertorium fuer Kunstwissenschaft* 15 (1892) 61-67.

⁴⁷ *Meisterwerke* 383, fig. 163. cf. M. Bieber: *op.cit.* (supra n. 13) 159.

⁴⁸ *GBA* 66 (1890) 390.

⁴⁹ *RA* 41 (1902) 207-22; also *JHS* 18 (1898) xli.

⁵⁰ P. Carus: *op.cit.* (supra n. 40) 38.

⁵¹ P. Carus: *ibid.* (supra n. 40) 12.

⁵² Furtwaengler: *Meisterwerke* 368; S. Reinach: *GBA* 66 (1890) 388.

garded as a free standing figure despite a vertical object beneath the arm.⁵³ Another bone of contention is the raised extension of the plinth drawn by Debay⁵⁴ and sent to the painter David during the latter's exile from France; the extension apparently disappeared soon after the statue was set up in the Louvre. What happened to this section of the plinth and its inscription, which the drawing shows to be genuine, we do not know, but this is not the only missing piece; the left foot apparently rested on another object, perhaps broken away with the above mentioned extension, that raised the foot even higher than the already raised section of the base. The object may have been a tortoise or a helmet.

It will be readily admitted by most authorities that the Aphrodite of Melos, despite reminiscences of the fifth and fourth centuries, was fashioned at a time when naturalism was at its height in Greek sculpture. Although there are no exact replicas, it is too much to call the figure an original piece of sculpture.⁵⁵ There are some who believe the artist worked from a living model.⁵⁶ The work has ideal features that hark back to the best period, but certain other features of style, including the treatment of the nude surface, will hardly allow a date before the second century B.C.

A large number of restorations have failed because they have provided for static hands and arms attached to a body that denotes some manner of movement; others that present an amatory connection with Ares or an impulsive gesture inspired by fright have forgotten the calm serenity of the face; one or two that have given the goddess a pair of moving arms have made the purpose of the action so theatrical or trivial that again the body appears out of keeping with the face. The figure should first be studied from all angles to determine what manner of movement it requires of one or both arms; then the forward thrust of the left knee and the raised foot must supply added reasons for the motion of the upper body. Again, many have taken for granted that the twist of the body, and other features that make it somewhat sensational, are mere signs of the times, devices a sculptor might add to attract attention, but the ridiculous showing

of most restorations reveals how false such an assumption can be. The problem,⁵⁷ on the other hand, is made more complex by the fact that, although the body demands movement from one or both arms, the legs are definitely in a position that denies motion to the lower part of the body.

First, let us observe the common type of standing position in a typical representative of Greek statuary and then the common type of moving figure. Throughout the fifth and fourth centuries the standing figure rested most of its weight on one foot, while the other leg, bent at the knee, was relaxed. In the first of these periods, when the body was usually draped, the effects of this position on the body could not be observed; before the drapery was removed only a moderate curve could be seen in the back. A figure in a walking position can best be studied in the Victory, especially that of Samothrace, where the movement calls for more action from all parts of the body; the legs are advancing in a brisk march tempo, the arms raised up in front, but the torso is relatively vertical and the shoulders about on the same level. Here the greater share of the movement is carried by the legs, as the drapery indicates, the upper body simply following the cadence of the legs without any resistance, without any compensating thrust to preserve the balance of the whole body. The rhythm of the movement is also evenly distributed on each side, so that no distortion or asymmetry poses a problem for the observer. More energetic figures, like the Diskobolos of Myron, that require a more definite forward thrust of the body, need not concern us.

Our Aphrodite is certainly in a standing position, but she has no opportunity to relax one leg, even when the other bears much of the body's weight, and for a very good reason: the upper body denotes some kind of motion at the level of the arms and shoulders, a movement that must be so much a matter of habit it need not disturb the serene aloofness of the face, even though it requires a definite supporting effort from the legs. Any suggested occupation or motive that does not take these requirements into account, together with the forward thrust of the left knee, the raised left foot and the absence of sandals, must be rejected.

⁵³ Cf. W. R. Lethaby: *JHS* 39 (1919) 207-08.

⁵⁴ A. Furtwaengler: *op.cit.* (supra n. 52) 371, fig. 159; P. Carus: *The Venus of Milo* 16.

⁵⁵ Cf. Bernoulli: *Aphrodite* 154; it is difficult to trace it back to either Ourania by Pheidias (Furtwaengler: *op.cit.* [supra

n. 52] 399-400).

⁵⁶ L. R. Farnell: *The Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford 1896) II 724.

⁵⁷ M. Bieber (*op.cit.* [supra n. 30] 159) refers to it as "a complicated and inharmonious double movement."

Where can we find an analogy in Greek sculpture that approaches to some extent, the posture of the Aphrodite? The best example is the Zeus of Artemisium whose feet are planted in a bracing position to enable the right arm to move rapidly forward from a point behind the shoulder; the left arm is extended out straight to aid the legs in preserving the balance of a figure under the influence of a powerful movement in the upper portion of the body. Despite the earlier date of the Zeus and its more powerful momentum, the thrust and counter-thrust to preserve the equilibrium of the body has much in common with the Aphrodite. The left leg has been thrust forward, though not raised, a device frequently used by many active people when occupied with one or both hands moving or throwing an object forward. The Melian Aphrodite is not engaged in the same type of activity, but, like the Zeus, she rests most of her weight on the right leg, the other being used to keep her body on even keel, while the right hand is moving between two widely separated points. The raised left foot indicates a position of some time-duration on a given spot in contrast to the male figure who will be permitted to move either forward or backward after hurling his weapon. The left arm of Aphrodite, held out somewhere on the level with the head and bent a little at the elbow, was not in motion but helped to counteract the diagonal course of the right hand; unlike the Zeus, the left hand was not empty and so could not be stretched out to preserve her balance. The action of the right hand was not violent, but the path of its movement was just as disturbing to physical equilibrium, which accounts for the unusual asymmetry and linear dynamics, best observed on the rear of the statue. In spite of the demands of the right hand's motion, any kind of support on the left side was not only superfluous but a mockery to the subtle rhythm of the whole work.

The musician playing the violin or viola frequently throws out the left leg, but not too far lest he find it awkward to push the bow far over the back of the bridge and the G string, on the other side of the instrument; this cannot be easily done unless the legs are fairly close together (any front view of the Melian will show how difficult this movement would be in her position), but when the

bow is used in front, as is more often the case, the right side of the body can bear the bulk of the weight, while the left arm and leg help to steady the body; the right hand moves along a diagonal but not down as far as the knee. Another more appropriate analogy is the archer⁸⁸ holding out the bow in the left hand as she draws back the arrow on the taut string with the right. The left foot is thrown forward and cooperates with the extended left hand to steady the balance of the body and give the right arm a free range. Here the face must look straight ahead to the mark, which is not necessary for the Aphrodite. The archer must focus his attention, the violinist can look at his score or elsewhere while his skilled fingers obey the call of nerve-centers without attention from the eye, and the Aphrodite is likewise engaged in an occupation so well known to her practised hands that she can give way either to calm introspection or the serene contemplation of a broad perspective beyond.

Now let us add (pl. 64, fig. 10) the left arm to the torso in the Louvre in such a way that the upper arm slopes down slightly to the elbow, then raise the lower arm so that the cupped hand is a little higher than the eyes; at the same time, the hand must be far enough to the left to be out of the head's line of vision and so allow the spectator a clear view of the face.⁸⁹ The swelling of the muscle on the left shoulder indicates that the arm can be raised neither much higher nor lower than the level of the shoulder itself;⁹⁰ projected at about right angles to the body it helps to serve the same purpose as the left arm of the Zeus. The head and eyes, though not at all looking at the hand, must face in its general direction for two reasons: it emphasizes the importance of the object held in the left hand and completes the dynamic curve of the body, contrasting with the left knee turned in the opposite direction. Next let us place a distaff in the cupped hand whose first two fingers open a little to allow the fibres of flax to pass through. Then we shall extend the right arm downward, raise the lower arm slightly at the elbow so that the hand reaches out beyond the left knee, at the same time following the line of the projecting leg. As we remarked before, this will avoid too obvious a chiasmic pattern in the design of the figure, it will allow the hand and arm to

⁸⁸ M. G. Scott: *Analysis of Human Motion* (New York 1942) 203-04, fig. 53.

⁸⁹ L. Farnell (*op.cit.* [supra n. 56] 723) places the left arm in approximately the same position.

⁹⁰ For this observation I am indebted to Sidney Mauer, M.D., in the department of anatomy of the University of Rochester Medical School.

converge into the predominant line of configuration and tone down the rather violent twist at the waist. We can then add the line of forming thread between the two hands, the right holding up the spindle at the end of the thread.

The next step is to give the right hand a constant motion, back and forth, along a slightly diagonal line between the distaff in the left hand down to the spindle below the left knee; this line of motion would tend, at regular intervals, to pull the right side of the body downward to the right and forward, which, in turn, would contribute to the twist of the figure, best seen from the rear;⁶¹ the left hand, holding the distaff at a constant level, helps to make the body twist so much more marked and the shoulders so uneven. The projected left knee could also serve to keep the spindle in motion, in accord with the Egyptian custom, but this point, in the absence of further evidence, cannot be pressed too far. At any rate, we can see that the diagonal movement of the right hand is more upsetting to the balance of the body than the right hand pull of either violinist or archer, and though not as powerful as that of the bronze Zeus, at least more disturbing to physical equilibrium. At this point we can best appreciate the fact that the twist of the torso, so much more obvious without the arms, was not a mere decorative embellishment prompted by a desire for affectation, but first dictated by practical efficacy and then fitted into a pattern that enhances the beauty of the whole. Now let us remove the distaff, thread and spindle from her hands, which we may be sure were never added by the sculptor, to see how the ancients pictured the heavenly rainmaker, the creator of all things fair and lovable.

At this point I shall quote a parenthetical statement of Professor Carpenter: "all Greek statuary poses are motivated by some action."⁶² This lesson was completely disregarded by many restorers of the Aphrodite, especially by F. Kiel,⁶³ who placed a long lance in her hands (pl. 64, fig. 8) in such a way that the weapon would only fit into the scheme of the figure if the observer could forget that she is in motion, and moving in reference to some action involving the hands. The Aphrodite of Melos

is not by any means like the "Christ clinging to the Cross" by Michelangelo (?), a work⁶⁴ in which the Greek artist may have found some beauty but not much truth. Let us now quote another restorer, V. Valentin,⁶⁵ whose efforts we have already mentioned: "Der Thorax, welcher die gesammte Haltung des Oberkoerpers bestimmt, zeigt eine doppelte Bewegung. Es biegt sich stark von links nach rechts —Die zweite Bewegung ist von hinten nach vorn —Der Hals zeigt wie der Thorax eine doppelte Bewegung: von links nach rechts und von hinten nach vorn gebogen—Hierdurch ist seine Richtung (of the right arm) nach vorn ausser der nach unten voellig zweifellos." The only movement of the hands and arms that can possibly suit the requirements of the body, as described by Valentin, is the somewhat diagonal course taken by the right hand of a standing spinner—downward and forward over the projecting left knee. Nobody could have observed and described better the directions of the body's movement, but why, then, did he make the purpose of its movement so trivial?

Another restorer, von Ravensburg,⁶⁶ has made some keen observations on the movement expressed by the body and right arm: "Der Oberkoerper biegt sich verhaeltnissmaessig stark nach rechts (immer im Sinne der Statue) und zeigt zugleich eine Drehung der Art, dass die rechte Seite hervor—, die linke zuruecktritt, wodurch die Biegung nach rechts zugleich einigermassen als leichtes Zurueckwerfen des Koerpers erscheint. Mit der Biegung haengt zusammen, dass die linke Schulter gehoben, die rechte entsprechend gesenkt und die rechte Brust dadurch etwas herabgedrueckt ist. Ausserdem ist aber der Oberkoerper auf der rechten Seite nach vorn gebeugt, wodurch eine runde Profillinie des Rueckens entsteht." It is exactly this downward movement along a slightly diagonal line on the right side and the effort of the left hand to keep the distaff at a constant height that creates the "leichtes Zurueckwerfen des Oberkoerpers." His description helps us to conjure up a picture of the Aphrodite with all the movements required of the spinner. In reference to the right arm he adds: "Es laesst deutlich erkennen, dass der (rechte) Arm

monumental evidence.

⁶⁴ In S. M. sopra Minerva, Rome.

⁶⁵ *Die Hohe Frau von Milo* (Berlin 1872) 10-12; he gives references (pp. 15-19) to earlier restorations. See also B. Meyer: *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst* 8 (1873) 640.

⁶⁶ *op.cit.* (supra n. 25) 43.

⁶¹ The figure is somewhat like that of the restoration of Tarral, but now the position of the arms has a purposeful function.

⁶² *AJA* 58 (1954) 9.

⁶³ *Die Venus von Milo*. He devotes a number of pages to the support of a thesis for which he can muster neither literary nor

quer abwärts von der rechten Schulter zur linken Huefte hin ausgestreckt war, mit einer leichten Biegung des Ellenbogens."⁶⁷

A comparison with the two spinners considered above, the bronze statuette of Herakles and the Capuan Aphrodite, is now in order: viewed from the rear, the two Aphrodites⁶⁸ show the same dynamic curve, the Herakles to a lesser degree, running from the neck down the full length of the back—in each case it can be seen that this undulation is brought about by the elevation of the left foot which, in turn, is partly responsible for the asymmetry of the body, including the slump of the right shoulder; this permits the left hand to hold the distaff on the level with the head and forces the right hand to reach down toward the knee (the latter gesture must also share in the responsibility for the asymmetry of the body). In the case of the Herakles an extra round base raises up the left foot, the Capuan Aphrodite is supported by the helmet and the Melian by a higher extension of the left side of the base, probably plus another object broken away with the foot. All three have a nude upper body and all have bare feet; the Aphrodites have a decided forward thrust of the left knee, the latter brought over to the right side of the figure, while Herakles, a much smaller figure, merely keeps his legs some distance apart to preserve his balance; Herakles and the Capuan are apparently looking downward but not at the same type of object, the Melian gazes serenely off into the distance. The difference between the two Aphrodites in respect to body posture is negligible; the right hand of the Capuan is probably reaching downward toward the spindle, holding a thread attached to it, and the fact that she may be watching an object out beyond the spindle can be attributed to an Eros standing before her. The minor differences in the Herakles may be put down, first, to the small size of the image, then to the novelty of the occupation for the hero, and also to the chubbiness of his physical proportions which adds something to the humorous clumsiness the Romans chose to see in his role. But despite these minor variations, the general picture of

each figure leaves little doubt that a naturalistic version of a spinning figure is intended.

The terracotta in the Heyl collection also has most of the body's weight on the right foot, the projected left knee, the difference in the level of the shoulders and a head, like the Capuan, gazing forward and downward, but the two hands are busy near the left shoulder. Except for the drapery which reaches up to the breasts, I believe the general scheme of the body has more in common with the Capuan than with the others, executed, however, with more vitality and rhythm of movement. The statuette in the Lateran has a similar motive of the upper body, but the crossing of the legs was probably borrowed from a type of the spinning Eros. The terracotta in the British Museum has strong affinities with the Melian, although the workmanship is far inferior. If we make allowances for the imitation of a masterpiece, there is a strong probability that all six of the figures we have dealt with represent spinners actually engaged in their occupation, but only two general types, one to be viewed from the front, the other a profile figure.

Now we are in a position to answer a few questions already raised in the consideration of the Capuan version: the left knee was thrust forward, as we have seen, to stabilize a figure whose right hand is moving downward and forward to the spindle and back again; the knee could also aid in keeping the spindle whirling, if the spinner rolled it against the thigh. The left foot was raised to help the left hand to keep the distaff at a consistently high level, for in so doing the length of the thread between distaff and spindle was kept at a maximum; this meant that more thread could be spun within a given period of time. The helmet of Ares, in the Capuan example, was added to stress his original association, as a god of thunder, with the goddess who spun the clouds of the heavens into the golden thread of life or rainfall for the thirsty earth. The feet of spinners (and this holds good for weavers as well) were usually bare because, according to an old superstition, they should be without covering when the hands are busied with an occupation that

⁶⁷ E. von Mach (*Greek Sculpture—its Spirit and Principles* [Boston 1903] 304), following Robinson, claims the position of the right arm is governed by the muscle that projects above the right breast, a feature that appears only because the lower half of the arm is bent at a right angle and the hand is turned downward. This, however, does not seem to be true: the prominence of this muscle is in no way dependent on the posi-

tion of the lower arm and hand; it heeds only the position and tension of the upper arm. From the standpoint of the whole figure, the arm extending out in the neighborhood of the left knee is much more agreeable to the eye than a forearm bent at a right angle.

⁶⁸ Furtwaengler (*Meisterwerke* fig. 170) gives a good view of the Capuan from the rear.

might involve entanglement.⁶⁹ The upper body was left nude for an unknown reason; but since Zeus is also presented in the same way, it may be surmised that this feature is characteristic of creation divinities.⁷⁰

There are a number of statues⁷¹ that belong to the same type, each one, however, in some respect different from the others. All are more fully draped than the Melian, but the twist of the body, the forward thrust of the left knee, the raised left foot and the overflow of the drapery, thrown over the left knee, point to the posture of the Louvre Aphrodite; on the other hand, in view of the absence of the head and a different direction for the right arm (no. 4), one cannot be sure they are spinners. Stylistically they hark back to the late fifth century.

In addition to the groups of emperor and empress already referred to, the type of the Melian has been worked over for a number of other figures, e.g. the statuette from Argos,⁷² a figure of Omphale⁷³ in the company of Herakles, a girl arranging her hair.⁷⁴ The face, especially the eyes, finds its reflection in a girl's head⁷⁵ found at Pergamon. J. Char-

bonneaux⁷⁶ points out a stylistic resemblance to the "Inopus" of the Louvre, which he chooses to call a portrait of Mithridates Eupator. Dr. Stais has published an interesting half-nude figure⁷⁷ whose left hand holds a mirror into which she is gazing, while the right hand is grasping the drapery. The hair is bound up in a sack, the two shoulders are on the same level. The figure is pertinent to our study in that it shows how the Melian Aphrodite would appear without moving the upper body and the right arm.

This interpretation of the Aphrodite of Melos and her sisters, supported by examples on vases and other artifacts, stresses the importance of spinning as analogous to the process of creation in the cosmos. She was pictured by the ancients as a goddess on the level of the moon where she gathered the fleecy clouds for her distaff and spun them into the golden thread of life. Where can we find a more persuasive approximation to the "Alma Venus" of Lucretius?

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⁶⁹ J. G. Frazer: *The Golden Bough* III 310f. There is another reason that may be more appropriate in the worship of a moon goddess: Petronius (*Sat.* 44) tells of the Roman matrons, dressed in their best garments, with loose hair and bare feet, who used to ascend the Capitoline slope to pray to Jupiter for rain. See also M. H. Morgan (*TAPA* 32 [1901] 100-01). Medea, according to Ovid (*Meta.* 7.183), went out into the light of the full moon, "nuda pedem, nudos umeris infusa capillos."

⁷⁰ Certainly it was not done merely for beauty (cf. Bernoulli: *Aphrodite* 152).

⁷¹ S. Reinach: *Rép. de la Stat.* II¹ 338.

⁷² *RM* 38-39 (1923-24) 181-82, fig. 5.

⁷³ *Jdl* 46 (1931) 235-36, fig. 21.

⁷⁴ S. Reinach: *Rép. de la Stat.* III 103, 8.

⁷⁵ *AM* 35 (1910) 498-99, pl. xxiii, 1, 2.

⁷⁶ *La Rev. des Arts* 1 (1951) 8-16, figs. 1-2. The same authority (*La Rev. des Arts* [1956] 105-06) has pointed out the mistake of L. Laurenzi (*Rivista Arch.* 8 [1940] 33f) who restored the Melian Aphrodite in accord with the statuette of the Aphrodite of Cos. Although the lower part of the latter's body is copied from the Capuan Aphrodite, as Charbonneaux points out, the two shoulders, almost on the same level, the lack of any raised muscle on the left side and the different direction of the right arm tell us she is not a moving figure, much less a spinner.

⁷⁷ *ArchEph* (1908) 135, pl. vi-vii.

News Letter from Greece

EUGENE VANDERPOOL

PLATES 65-74

The outstanding event of the year was the discovery of four large bronze statues, Greek originals of the sixth and fourth centuries B.C., in Piraeus. This discovery so overshadows all others, not only of 1959 but of many years past, that most of this News Letter will be devoted to it.

Another exceptional discovery is that of a complete manuscript of the *Lexicon* of Photius in a monastery in Macedonia.

PIRAEUS. On July 18, 1959, workmen engaged in digging a ditch for a sewer in one of the main streets of Piraeus came upon the arm of a bronze statue. The Archaeological Service was notified, and before the day was over a bronze kouros of the sixth century B.C., a standing female figure of bronze of the fourth century B.C., and a marble herm had been uncovered and removed to the Piraeus Museum. Systematic exploration of the area was immediately started by Mr. Papadimitriou, Director of the Archaeological Service, with the assistance of the Epimelete of Attica Mr. Mastrokostas. Exactly one week later a second "strike" was made: a bronze Athena of over life size dating from the fourth century B.C., a bronze Artemis with quiver somewhat under life size, also of the fourth century B.C., a large tragic mask of bronze, a small marble statue of a woman, and another marble herm. Two shields were also discovered, one with a chariot race in relief (*repoussé*), the other plain.

The place where this sensational discovery was made is in the heart of Piraeus one block back from the waterfront of the large harbor near the *demarcheion* or town hall whose clock tower is a landmark in the modern city at one of its main intersections (W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, Plan III, C 2). The exact spot is on the south side of King George I St. (formerly Athena St.) where it intersects with Philon St. There is a small park here, and opposite is the church of Hagia Triada. The statues were found at a depth of between 0.85 m. and 1.50 m. below the pavement of the modern street and were lying neatly side by side or one on top of the other. The earth immediately over them

showed clear traces of burning and contained fragments of roof tiles. Remains of light walls about 0.65 m. thick were found on three sides of the area where the statues lay, evidently belonging to a small room about 5.70 meters across. Similar rooms had been found nearby when the area around the church of Hagia Triada was excavated in 1956. The form of these rooms and their location close to the waterfront show that they belong to the shops and warehouses of the *Emporion*, the commercial docks of Piraeus. The statues had evidently been stored in the room where they were found while awaiting shipment abroad, presumably to Rome. They were buried when some disaster overtook the warehouse, and their existence was forgotten. Just when this occurred cannot be determined with precision, but the evidence indicates the first century B.C. Nothing of later Roman or Byzantine times was found in the area.

Nothing was discovered which gives any clue as to the origin or authorship of the statues. All had been removed from their bases, and the bases were not found. It seems likely that they came from Athens or from some other city or cities nearby and were collected and stored in Piraeus while awaiting shipment.

It will be a long time before the statues are cleaned and mounted in such a way that they can be properly seen, photographed and studied. Two of the bronzes, the kouros and the small Artemis, have been taken to the National Museum in Athens where the initial stages of cleaning have been begun. The metal is generally in good condition, except in the case of the small Artemis which is badly corroded in places. The two shields, which are of very thin bronze, are shattered but it will apparently be possible to mend them.

There is much discussion as to where the statues will ultimately be displayed, and the possibility of building a new and larger museum in Piraeus which would house them together with the many other antiquities from the harbor city which are now kept in Athens is being seriously considered.

I append a few explanatory notes to the pictures

illustrating the Piraeus find which I publish through the courtesy of Mr. Papadimitriou. These pictures, which were taken under difficult conditions, are the best that are likely to be available for some time to come. When they were taken the large bronzes had not been cleaned except for a general washing and brushing. All were lying on their backs on temporary wooden cradles and it has sometimes been necessary to paint out the unsightly background on the negative. Nevertheless, the pictures will serve as a record of what was found and will give some idea of the pose and style of the various statues.

Plate 65, fig. 1, gives a general view of the place of discovery looking eastward up King George I St. (Athena St.), away from the harbor. The large building at the top left is the Municipal Theatre.

The statues were found in the room in the left foreground whose length is 5.70 m. and whose preserved width is 2.30 m. Probes under the street farther to the left showed that the northern part of the room had been completely destroyed.

Plate 65, fig. 2, shows the principal statues of the second find as they lay in the ground. The Athena is on her back and the small Artemis lies beside her, embracing her as it were. The second herm lay on the other side of the Athena and the bronze mask at her feet and actually inside the statue, but they had been removed before this photograph was taken. The wall of the room in which the statues were stored is visible at the left. The statues of the first find were beside the same wall at the feet of the Athena. Of these the kouros lay on his back with the first herm on top of him. Beside him, but with her head in the opposite direction, lay the large female figure.

Plate 66, figs. 3 and 4. Bronze kouros. Height 1.91 m. He stands with his right foot slightly advanced, not the left as is usual in archaic statues. In his left hand he held a bow part of which is preserved. In his right, which is extended from the elbow, palm upward, he held some object now missing. The pose is similar to that of the Apollo from Piombino in the Louvre and certain small bronzes. This type has long been associated with the Apollo Phileios of the Sicyonian sculptor Kanachos. Inside the statue the clay core was preserved and also the iron armature that supported it. These have been removed in the process of cleaning. The statue may be dated on stylistic grounds in the last third of the sixth century B.C.

Plates 68-69, figs. 5-6. Bronze Athena. Height

2.35 m. This majestic statue is the finest of the lot. Athena stands with her right foot advanced and her left leg bent slightly at the knee. She wears a long sleeveless chiton and the aegis over her right shoulder. On her head is a crested helmet decorated with griffins on the sides of the crown and owls on the cheek pieces. On the top of the helmet is a serpent whose coils help support the crest. Her right arm is extended from the elbow, palm upwards, and there are marks of attachment on thumb and palm showing that something was held in the hand, perhaps a Nike or an owl. Her left arm hangs at her side, slightly bent, and the hand held a spear. A mass of lead in the palm still retains the impression of the shaft of the spear. It is thought that the shield with relief decoration which was found nearby may also belong to this statue.

One of the dowels which held the statue to its base was placed at the left foot. This is now gone except for a trace. The other dowel was not at the right foot but in a suitably bunched fold of drapery beside the foot (cf. pl. 65, fig. 2).

Plate 67, figs. 7-8. Female figure in bronze. Height 1.94 m. This large draped female statue has no specific attributes which permit a certain identification. The belt with a diagonal shoulder strap is similar to that worn by Artemis. Mr. Papadimitriou has suggested that the figure may be Melpomene, the Muse of Tragedy. Her left arm hangs at her side slightly bent; thumb and forefinger grasp something round that was held horizontally, possibly a book roll. Her right arm is broken off, but the pieces exist. It was extended horizontally from the elbow, palm upward. The fingers are bent and show signs of strain as if holding something heavy. Mr. Papadimitriou suggests that the great bronze mask may have been suspended from this hand, though the great weight of the mask might make this difficult without some support underneath.

Plate 70, figs. 9-10. Bronze Artemis. Height 1.55 m. This smaller female figure is certainly Artemis for she has a bow in her left hand and a quiver slung across her back (cf. pl. 65, fig. 2). In spite of the poor condition of the bronze this statue has great charm.

Plate 71, fig. 11. Bronze mask. Height 0.45 m. This large tragic mask may have decorated some ancient theatre or may have been held by the large female statue. Two small holes in the top of the head towards the back may have been used for suspension.

Plate 71, fig. 12. Marble statue of a woman. Height 1.05 m. This curious statue is perfectly preserved. It represents a woman standing wearing a long chiton which reaches the ground and, spreading out, completely hides her feet. Over this is a himation of knee length tied at the waist by a cord. Her arms are folded inside the himation. A pair of straps are crossed over her chest and she wears a mantle over her head. She may represent a priestess of some eastern cult.

Plate 71, fig. 13. Marble herm. Height 1.40 m. This is the first of the two herms to be discovered.

Plate 71, fig. 14. Marble herm. Height 1.40 m. The second herm.

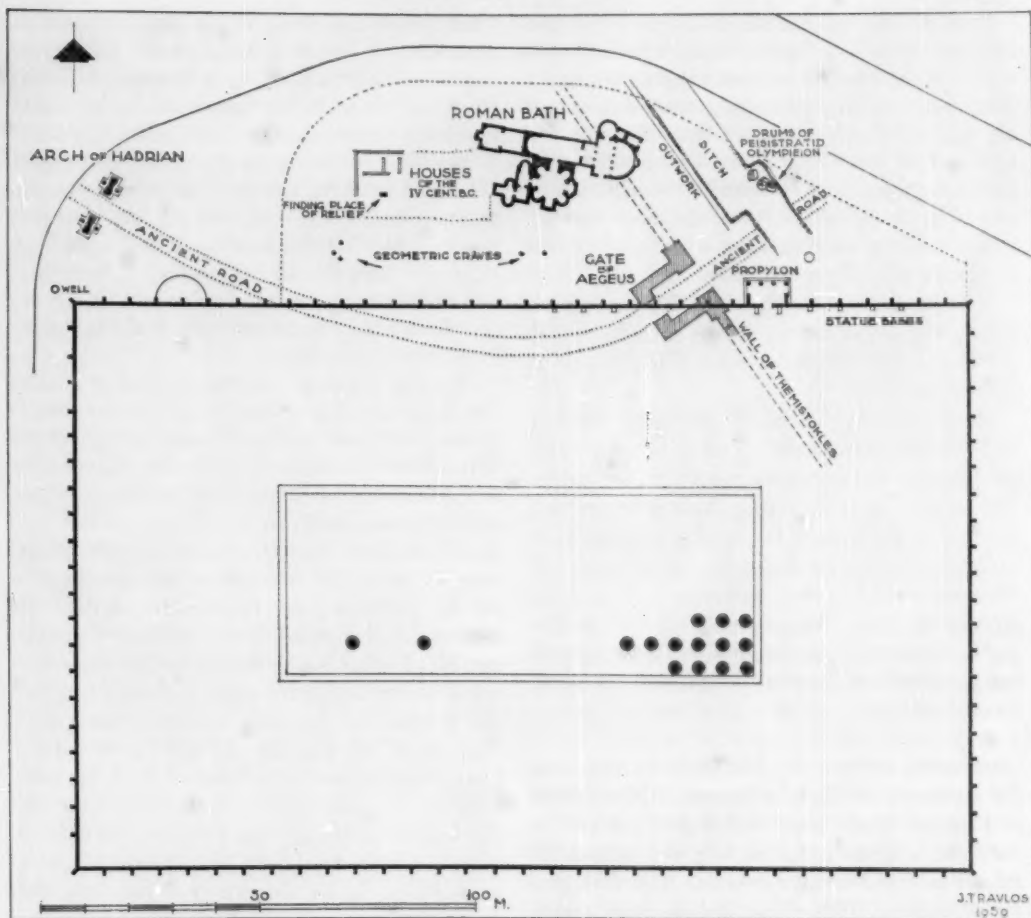
Finally we may mention an interesting "Megarian" bowl which was found in the course of exploratory diggings but not in the room with the statues. The sacrifice of Iphigeneia at Aulis is represented in relief on the body of the bowl. Iphigeneia is arriving at the scene in a chariot. Agamemnon and Menelaos await her; their names are written in the field beside them. "Megarian" bowls with mythological scenes on them—the so-called Homeric bowls—are probably of Boeotian origin and are rarely found in Attica.

ACROPOLIS, SOUTH SLOPE. Mr. Meliades completed the excavation of the area in front of the Odeion of Herodes. In the scene building of the Odeion itself the long room (38 m. x 5 m.) behind the stage was found to have a mosaic floor with geometric patterns. This mosaic had not been known before because it was covered by a later floor of terracotta plaques. South of the Odeion three successive retaining walls, each farther out on the slope than the last and dating respectively from the late sixth, the fifth, and the late fourth centuries B.C. formed a level area for some building or sanctuary that was destroyed to make way for the Odeion; no trace of this earlier building has been found, however. Deep down in the bedrock, 14 meters below the surface, a fine stretch 30 meters long of an archaic water main was discovered. The terracotta pipes had been laid in a tunnel in bedrock which was found in a collapsed state. Access to the tunnel was by a stairway cut into the side of the hill. This is part of the line which fed the water basin identified by Doerpfeld as the Enneakrounos in the residential district on the west slope of the Acropolis.

OLYMPIEION. Mr. John Travlos has completed the excavation of the area north of the Olympieion where he has been working at intervals for several years, and the place has been tastefully landscaped by Mrs. Argyropoulou and her Garden Club. The main results are shown on the accompanying plan (ill. 1). They have also been included in the appropriate places in a book that has just been published by Mr. Travlos, entitled *Πολιοδομική Έξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (Athens 1960), an important and original study of the development of the city of Athens from the earliest times to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The most important discovery in this excavation is undoubtedly that of the city wall of the time of Themistokles, and the question as to whether the Olympieion was inside or outside the walls of Classical Athens is now definitely settled: from 479 B.C. onwards it was inside. A bit of this wall had been uncovered many years ago (*Πρακτικά* [1886] 16 and plate 1) but it had not been recognized. Built of cut up pieces of poros column drums from the Peisistratid Olympieion, it was considered an enigma. Mr. Travlos has shown by further excavation that it was in fact part of a gate in the city wall and that it must date from the time of Themistokles. Final proof that it is the city wall lies in the discovery thirteen meters in front of it of the great ditch or dry moat about eleven meters wide and four meters deep that was added to the defenses of the city in the late fourth century B.C. Our photograph pl. 72, fig. 15, shows part of the ditch with some poros drums of the Peisistratid Olympieion lying in it. These drums must come from the Themistoklean wall nearby and when the wall was demolished in the time of Hadrian they were first partly cut up, but finally rolled down into the ditch and abandoned.

Clear traces of the road passing through the gate were found. This road presumably swung around to the west past the point where it was later spanned by the Arch of Hadrian. That the road dates back to early times is suggested by the discovery of several Protogeometric and Geometric graves along its course. This road led to the upper Ilissos valley, and the gate in the city wall through which it passed was probably called the Gate of Aegeus (Plutarch, *Life of Theseus* 12). The earliest habitation in the area is shown by finds of potsherds to go back to the Middle and Late Bronze Age.



Ill. 1. Athens. Plan of area north of Olympieion

Of the other structures marked on the plan we may note the remains of houses of the fourth century B.C., remodelled in Roman times, and a large Roman bath (*Praktika* [1949] 25-35). The Propylon leading into the Hadrianic peribolos of the Olympieion has been re-excavated and partially restored (pl. 72, fig. 16). Inside the peribolos a series of statue bases was found placed at regular intervals against the wall. These probably supported the statues of the Emperor Hadrian that were set up by various cities (Pausanias 1.18.6).

Of the movable finds most noteworthy is a votive relief showing Demeter and Kore with the Hierophant Hagnousios standing in front of them (pl. 73, fig. 17, height 0.68 m.). Under the relief is an inscription $\Theta\epsilon\sigma\mu\phi\omicron\rho\omicron\rho\iota\sigma\iota \Theta\epsilon\alpha\iota\varsigma \cdot \text{'}\text{A}\gamma\nu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma \text{'}\text{I}\epsilon\rho\omicron\text{'}$

$\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\eta\varsigma$. The relief dates from Roman times, probably the second century after Christ, but the style, at least in the figures of the goddesses, copies fifth century B.C. models. Its condition is almost perfect, and the surface is very fresh. It was found lying face down in the area of one of the houses (ill. 1). There is no trace of a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in the neighborhood, and so we may guess that although the relief had been made to Hagnousios' order and perhaps delivered to his house, it was for some reason never actually dedicated in the sanctuary.

CITY WALL, EAST SIDE. The construction of a large new building in the block enclosed by Metropolis, Boule, Apollo and Pentele Streets (Judeich, *Topo-*

graphie Plan I, G 4) has revealed another section of the city wall and ditch of classical times. The excavation was supervised by Mr. Threpsiades. The position of the new section of wall is shown on plans II, IV and XII of Mr. Travlos' recently published book mentioned above. The wall bends sharply inward at this point, and it seems likely that there was a gate, the Diochaes Gate, about on the line of the modern Metropolis Street. Among the small finds we may mention the torso of an archaic kouros which was found built into the city wall.

KERAMEIKOS. Study by Mr. Ohly of the German Institute of the well preserved stretch of the city wall just south of the Sacred Gate has yielded interesting results (cf. Judeich, *Topographie* 133, fig. 9). A small section of this wall had collapsed several years ago, and in order to repair it properly it was necessary to dismantle the adjacent parts. This led to the discovery that in the core of the wall, above the stone socle of Kononian times, some of the mud brick superstructure was still preserved. Observations were also made which led to a better understanding of the various alterations in the construction of the wall in the middle and late fourth century B.C.

BRAURON. Mr. Papadimitriou excavated again at the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia. Some details of the plan of the sanctuary were clarified. More sculpture was found, including a nice relief and several heads of young girls. A good deal of pottery was discovered, both red-figured and black-figured, some of it of excellent quality. Among the inscriptions we may note a large opisthographic stele of the fourth century B.C. with about four hundred lines of text; it contains a record of votive offerings.

EPANO LIOSIA. Some inscriptions and pieces of sculpture were discovered by chance when a well was being dug between the villages of Epáno Liosia and Menidi, north of Athens. Mr. Mastrokostas investigated. The finding place is on level ground about one kilometer southwest of the chapel of the Forty Martyrs (near the word *Haus*? on sheet VI of E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert, *Karten von Attika*), in the area, that is, of the ancient deme of Acharnai. The finds indicate a sanctuary of Herakles which was frequented by the members of an *Eranos*. A relief, perhaps part of a frieze, shows Herakles and

the Nemean lion with Cerberus at the left and the Hydra at the right. Another relief shows Herakles with his club. A bearded head of more than life size (height 0.34 m.) may also represent Herakles (pl. 73, fig. 18), for a club that may be part of the same statue was also found. The style is "archaic" but the head must have been made in late Roman times perhaps, as Mr. Mastrokostas suggests, in imitation of an archaic model. A dedicatory inscription reads *Θεῷ Ἡρακλεῖ Ἐπηκόω κατὰ κέλευσιν Νευκηρίων ἀνέθηκα*. Finally a complete inscribed stele has the following preamble: *Ἀγαθῆι Τύχη Ἐπὶ Λευκίου Ῥαμνουσίου νεω[τέρου ἄ]ρχοντος, ὁ ἱεροποιήσας καὶ κοσμηθεύσας Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀντιόχου τούσδε ἀνέγραψεν Ἐρανιστὰς, ταμειόντος τὸ δεύτερον Καλλιστράτου, γραμματεύοντος δὲ Δημητρίου τὸ δεύτερον. Ἀρχερανόστρια Θάλεια. Ἱερεὺς Ἡρακλέους Θεόδωρος Μητροδώρον Παιανεύς*. There follow the names of about 140 people, men and women, belonging to the *Eranos*. The inscription dates from early Roman times but it is uncertain whether the archon Leukios the Younger of Rhamnous is identical with the known archon Leukios of 59/8 B.C. or whether he is a different person who held office in some later year.

PARNES. A few meters below and to the south of the highest peak of Parnes a small cave has been discovered. It was excavated by Mr. Mastrokostas. It contained an ash deposit 2.20 m. deep. The pottery runs from the early Geometric period on down and much of it is archaic, Corinthian aryballoi and the like. There are also some Roman lamps. The principal votives, however, were iron knives, and of these an estimated three thousand have been found. There are also five bronze knives.

BASSAI. Mr. Yalouris dug some exploratory trenches at various points around the temple of Apollo Epikourios. About 70 meters west of the temple the foundations of a series of monumental buildings of archaic and classical times appeared. While it is still too soon to say anything definite about the nature of these buildings or their exact relation to the temple, it is clear that we will have to alter our current conception of the temple as standing isolated on a mountainside. On the east side of the temple two cuttings in the rock were noted. One of these is outside the entrance to the adyton. It is 0.20-0.25 m. wide and runs parallel to the side of the temple as far as the north end of

the adyton where it turns and disappears under the temple. The other cutting is less clear. These cuttings may be connected with the early temple of Apollo, as may also a rough stairway of archaic times uncovered at the southwest corner of the temple.

Certainly connected with the early sanctuary are some Corinthian aryballoi and sherds of the archaic period as well as many archaic roof tiles. Among the last we may note an antefix, half of which is preserved, with a sphinx in relief, one of a pair heraldically opposed. Many iron objects were found, spear heads, arrow points, daggers and the like. Most remarkable is an iron statuette of a kouros (height 0.18 m.) which is reasonably well preserved. Its elongated proportions indicate an early date, perhaps the beginning of the seventh century B.C. Evidence of an iron working establishment was found north of the temple.

MESSENE. Professor Orlandos excavated in the Agora of Messene, clearing some of the east and north sides. The north side, which lies towards the hill and is thus most deeply buried, is best preserved. At the center of the north side a stairway seven meters broad with two Corinthian columns between pilasters leads into the Agora from the area which lies above. At the foot of the stairs part of an inscribed stele with 42 lines of text was found in situ. The text, which is of the Roman period, contains a list of contributions towards the restoration of various temples, stoas and gymnasiums in the city. Some of these buildings, including the Sebasteion, are not mentioned by Pausanias.

DODONA. The excavation of the theater, one of the largest in Greece, has been pushed ahead vigorously by Mr. Dakaris, and the orchestra and scene building have been cleared. The orchestra had been turned into an arena in Roman times by the removal of the five lowest rows of seats and the erection of a high parapet. The proskenion columns were also removed in the operation. The scene building is, however, in general well preserved. A remarkable feature is the two elaborate propylons with delicately carved Ionic half-columns which were built beside the scene building at the outer end of each parodos. At the back of the scene building is a stoa with octagonal columns. Plate 74, fig. 19, gives a general view of the theater with the back

wall of the scene building in the foreground; the stubs of the columns of the stoa are visible at the left.

The theater dates from the time of Pyrrhus, the early third century B.C. It was damaged by the Aetolians in 219 B.C. but repaired soon afterwards. Clearing the base of the great retaining wall that supports the west end of the cavea a row of stone seats was discovered which may belong to a stadium.

ZAVORDA, MACEDONIA. Professor Linos Politis of the University of Salonica has recently announced the discovery of the first complete manuscript of the *Lexicon* of Photius, the learned Patriarch of Constantinople in the ninth century. The manuscript was found in the Monastery of the Holy Nicanor at Zavorda near Kozani in Western Macedonia by Professor Politis while he was engaged in making a catalogue of the library of the monastery. The manuscript is a thick volume of more than 400 folios, written on bombycine paper, and is thought to date from the thirteenth century. Besides the *Lexicon* of Photius it contains certain other lexica, some of which are already known, as well as other material.

The *Lexicon* of Photius was first known from a single manuscript in Cambridge, the *codex Galeanus*. This manuscript is defective, however, and after a few pages devoted to the letter A it breaks off, resuming again with the word *Eponymoi*. Early in the present century the Berlin Museum acquired a manuscript with the beginning of the *Lexicon* as far as the word *aparnos*. A large gap still remained, however, which is now filled by the new manuscript, and we may expect interesting additions to our knowledge of the comic poets, the orators and other ancient authors.

Prompt publication of the unknown portion of the manuscript is promised as a joint work of the classical faculty of the School of Philosophy of the University of Salonica, Messrs. Kyriakides, Kakrides, Kapsomenos, Tsopanakis and Politis. This will be followed by a collation of the Cambridge, Berlin and Zavorda manuscripts and a new critical edition of the entire *Lexicon*.

The Monastery of Zavorda is in a beautiful location on the left bank of the Haliakmon River on the very border of Macedonia and Thessaly. Until recently it was very difficult of access and could be reached only on foot or on horseback in about

twelve hours from Kozani. A few years ago, however, a mining company opened a road into the area, and a branch of this road now leads to the monastery. It was founded in the sixteenth century by the Holy Nicanor, an ascetic monk who first occupied a cell on the steep hillside and later founded the monastery on the top of the hill where he had discovered an icon of the transfiguration. It was known in a general way that this monastery contained manuscripts, but they had never been examined by anyone. Mr. Politis reports that the manuscripts number 190 and that they are of considerable interest. He has paid two visits to the monastery, and hopes in the course of a third visit to complete his descriptive catalogue which will then be published.

THASOS. Through the courtesy of the French School I publish a photograph of a fine plate of insular orientaling style (seventh century B.C.) showing Bellerophon mounted on a winged Pegasus attacking the Chimaera (pl. 74, fig. 20). A fragment of this plate found in 1958 in the Artemision has been published in *BCH* 83 (1959) 780 and 781, fig. 11; the rest of the plate was found in 1959.

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ADDENDUM. A very important epigraphical discovery is reported from Troezen in the Argolid by Mr. Michael H. Jameson of the University of Pennsylvania. The inscription was discovered by chance some time ago and deposited in the school house in the village of Damala near the site of Troezen where it was seen and copied by Mr. Jameson last summer. It contains the text of the decree proposed by Themistokles on the eve of the Persian invasion. This decree provides for the evacuation of Athens, the mobilization of all the citizens and foreign residents, and the manning of the two hundred ships. One hundred of the ships are ordered to proceed to Artemision in Euboea, the other hundred are to patrol the coasts of Attica and Salamis. Finally, in order that there may be harmony among all the Athenians provision is made for the return of the ostracized.

The decree was inscribed in the fourth century B.C. and may have stood in the stoa in the market place of Troezen as part of the memorial of "the women and children whom the Athenians entrusted for safe keeping to the Troezenians at the time when they had made up their minds to evacuate Athens and not to await the attack of the Persians on land" as we learn from Pausanias (2.31.7). Mr. Jameson is publishing the text of this exciting discovery in the second number of *Hesperia* for 1960.



Archaeological Notes

ROMAN CERAMIC-AND-GLASS VASES AT HEIDELBERG AND NEW YORK

PLATE 75

Roman ceramic vases with supplementary glass embellishment are not common, but several have been recorded during the last century—most recently, so far as I know, by Dr. R. Lullies in *AA* (1938) cols. 465-66, where he illustrates and discusses a vase of this kind in the Munich Museum and gives a bibliography of previously published parallels. That these are genuine antiques and not the product of an enterprising forger's ingenuity is proven by the discovery of one of them at Rome "nel cortile di una casa di Via Quattro Fontane."¹ Lullies points out that with one exception all specimens of these vases have been found in Italy, and he adduces the inscription AB HERCVLE VICTORE on one of them and the passage Martial 12.74.2 *accipe de circo pocula Flaminino* as evidence that they may have been made at Rome itself. Regarding their date there is considerable latitude of opinion: Lullies and others call them late Republican; Robinson and Freeman suggest "Late Imperial times";² the Metropolitan Museum describes them as "I B.C. to IV A.D."

The Archäologisches Institut of the University of Heidelberg has six fragments in ceramic-and-glass acquired in Rome and presented to the Institut's museum by R. Pagenstecher, which I was courteously allowed to photograph and to publish (pl. 75, figs. 1-6). Further, the Metropolitan Museum of Art has nine whole or fragmentary vases in the same technique; photographs of these and permission to publish have been kindly supplied by the Museum (pl. 75, figs. 7-12).³ Fig. 7 is an alabastron from Rhodes, assigned to the fifth century B.C.; if the date and provenance are correct, it lies outside our immediate group, but may give a suggestion as to the time and place of the origin of the technique. The remainder form a more or less homogenous group with the Heidelberg fragments and with certain of the parallels to the Munich vase assembled by Lullies. However, in both their larger concepts of shape and style and in details they are quite different from the Munich vase itself. The latter seems considerably smoother work than ours; it uses paint and incised lines which are both ruled horizontally and drawn freehand diagonally; its shape and especially its handles are different; the glass applications are more regularly hemispherical in shape and are applied in a different kind of pattern and without the use of barbotine.

¹ Helbig, *BdI* 56 (1884) 50.

² *CVA* Robinson Coll. 3 p. 49.

³ Inv. nos. 22.52, 17.194.1833, 17.194.1891, 17.194.1893, 17.194.1894, 17.194.21452-c, respectively.

⁴ My thanks are due to Mr. Harry Stritman, Publications Procurement Officer of the American Embassy and tenant of

The potter or potters of the Heidelberg and New York vases, whoever he or they were and whenever they worked, operated in a different artistic atmosphere. Yet they commanded a wide and imaginative range of handle- and vase-shapes, including pinched-in vases and the small child's rattle in the form of a pig which is paralleled elsewhere, e.g. Walters, *Cat. Roman Pottery in the British Museum* pp. 9-10, K 63 and K 64, pl. iv; the latter is almost a duplicate of that in the Metropolitan. The pigs were presumably made in molds, while the round and pinched-in vases were wheel-made (pl. 75, fig. 5). For decoration the artists made free use of barbotine for large and small dots and for outlines and connecting lines. A favorite motive was a pattern of elongated and pointed leaves with dots down the center and with vertical lines rising or descending from the intersections and terminations of leaves, emphasized at appropriate spots by a large dot of barbotine with a glass inset (pl. 75, figs. 1, 2 [small piece], 3, 9, 12). Fig. 4 is in a somewhat different spirit produced by a kind of comb-technique. On this vase the insets were originally round, rectangular and irregular in shape, and blue, gray-white, iridescent yellow and green in color. Fig. 6 is still different: the lion's head is appliqué and a small dark blue glass bead (indistinguishable in the photograph) is let into its mouth, in addition to the white pearl-drop above. The sharp outlines of the glass often became softened in the heat of the potter's fire; either for that reason or because of ordinary wear and tear the insets have sometimes dropped from their anchorages.

The clay of the Heidelberg vases is always red of various shades ranging from yellowish (fig. 1) and pink to deep red (fig. 6). Despite the rough surfaces of all the vases here illustrated, which lack any suggestion of sigillata or other sophisticated finishes, they must have made a gay showing when they were new.

HOWARD COMFORT

Haverford College

SOME INSCRIPTIONS NEAR ROME

PLATE 76

The Casale della Spizzichina, Via Cassia 1416, 14.3 km. north of Rome, houses several complete or fragmentary Roman inscriptions which I first saw in 1951.¹ Since some of them are not without interest,

the property at the time, through whose kindness the inscriptions were drawn to my attention and the preliminary notes were made; to the present tenant, Mr. Howard Shaw; to the Cultural Office of the American Embassy; to the Ing. Carlo Grazioli, owner of the property, and his son Dr. Mario Grazioli, who have generously granted their concurrence and active assistance in this publication; to my colleague Dr. Aldo

they are here transcribed, without attempt to cope with the wider problems which they raise. Tradition has it that all of them were found on the property; this is incorrect as regards the sarcophagus of Amy-mone but it may still be correct as regards the others (see further note 6 infra).

I. A marble altar 133 cm. high, including the lunette, by 76 cm. at the upper cornice, by 44 cm. thick (pl. 76, fig. 1). The lunette is 19.5 cm. high and is decorated in low relief with a mounted bearded huntsman spearing a boar (pl. 76, fig. 2). Since the boar was the legionary emblem of the XX Valeria Victrix,² the scene was hardly selected accidentally; presumably the huntsman, who is bearded in the Hadrianic-Antonine fashion, is a rough portrait of the deceased. At the sides of the lunette are acroteria equally appropriately decorated with miniature military standards. Below, on the sides of the altar, the customary sacrificial *patera* (right) and ewer (left). Within a sunken panel on the front, 73.5 x ca. 58.5 cm., is the inscription:

D	M
SEX · FLAVIO · SEX · F · QVIR · QVIETO	
P P · LEG · XX V V MISSO CVM	
EXER · IN EXP · MAVR · AB · IMP \emptyset	
ANTONINO · AVG · PRAEF · CLASSIS	
BRIT VARINIA · CRISPINILLA · CONIG	
PIENTISSIMO ET · FL · VINDEXT ET QVI	
ETVS FIL	PIISSIMI

Punctuation has been inserted as it appears; other words have been separated as seems reasonable. The letters E, F, I, L and T are sometimes indistinguishable from each other; hence *piississimo* is transcribed as *pientsissimo*, the last dedicator is *Quietus*, and the three following vertical strokes represent *fil(ii)*, for which the only visible evidence is the wide spacing between the first two strokes; and other corrections have been introduced. C is easily distinguishable from G in line 3, but in line 6 the two are very similar. In lines 6-8 the space is poorly planned *passim*.

Imp() Antonino Aug() can hardly refer to anyone except Antoninus Pius, although this is an unusual way of designating him. The most recent study of his campaign to suppress a Mauretanian revolt in A.D. 145-147(?) is by Baradez, *Lybica* 2 (1954) 127-39, who lists participating detachments from most of the Rhenish and Danubian provinces and from Syria.³ But our

Caselli of Haverford College, for the photographs, measurements and important supplementary information; to Prof. T. R. S. Broughton of Bryn Mawr College and the American Academy in Rome; and finally to Dr. Hans Lieb of Schaffhausen for his active interest and assistance at all times, and especially for his personal revision of the inscriptions in March, 1960. It is only to protect him from responsibility for my own errors that I refrain from recording him as co-author of these notes.

² Ritterling, *RE* s.v. Legio 1769; Macdonald, *Roman Wall in Scotland*, 2 ed., pls. LXV 2, LXVI 1, LXVII 2; the significance of the boar is unknown (Parker, *Roman Legions* 271).

³ See also Hüttl, *Antoninus Pius* I 301-314, II 67; he dates the revolt at A.D. 144-150.

inscription is the first evidence for the inclusion of troops from Britain, where the XX Valeria Victrix was stationed in the North; Quietus was apparently the commander of the expeditionary force and, after his return to Britain, was made admiral of the British fleet for which appointment, or for any other aspect of his life, the present inscription is also the first evidence.⁴ This office was the culmination of his career, although one of his predecessors in it, Q. Baienus Blasianus, had gone on to numerous better things including the prefecture of Egypt in A.D. 133.⁵

II. A similar but slightly smaller altar 120 cm. high, including the lunette, by 62 cm. wide at the cornice, by 44.5 cm. thick (pl. 76, fig. 3). The lunette has a circular wreath in the center, with ribbons streaming symmetrically toward the corners; the acroteria are embellished with a kind of stylized palmette. Below, on the sides of the altar, are the same sacrificial paraphernalia as before, similarly arranged. Within a similar sunken panel on the front, 59 x 46 cm., is the inscription:

D · M
C · MAECENATI
VMBRICIO
IANVARIO
NEGOTIATORI
MATERIARIO
C · MAECENAS FELIX
PARENTI PISSIMO

Other *negotiantes* (not *negotiatores*) *materiarum* at Rimini and Florence, *CIL* XI 363. 1620, and at Spalato, III 12924.

The deceased bore two gentile names, but his son had only one.

III. A large sarcophagus 2.18 m. long by 0.48 m. high by 0.45 m. thick, with the inscription in large and well cut letters extending its entire length (pl. 76, fig. 4). It is published in *CIL* VI 11602 with references to several previous recordings and with the notation, "in coenobio S. Laurentii in Lucina nuper repertus fuit, dum aedificium fundaretur, sarcophagus ingens litteris magnis pulcherrimisque inscriptus; in quo alius sarcophagus minor sine inscriptione inclusus erat." Subsequently it was moved to the Villa Giustiniani "on a pleasant hill facing the Porta del Popolo," where it was last seen by Johann Georg Keys(s)ler in 1729-30.⁶

⁴ *RE* s.v. Classis 2644.

⁵ Pflaum, *BAntFr* (1954-55) 112; *P. Oxy.* 24 2413; *Inscr. Italiae* 10, 4, 37-40.

⁶ *Reisen*, etc., ed. 1741, vol. 2, p. 137; Engl. trans., ed. 1756, vol. 1, pp. x-xi; vol. 2, p. 289. The location of the "pleasant hill" is now of only passing interest: the Giustiniani had a palazzo in the vicinity of Palazzo Madama and the Pantheon—which is hardly a part of the city which one would orient with relation to the Porta del Popolo, though it is not too far from S. Lorenzo in Lucina; this may have been where Keysler saw the inscription. However, the Casale dalla Spizichina was originally a post-house and inn on the road to Siena and, until acquired by the Ing. Grazioli after World War I, was a part of the Villa Giustiniani in the country. The

HIC SITA EST AMYMONE MARCI · OPTIMA ·
ET · PVLCHERRIMA
LANIFICA · PIA · PVDICA · FRVGI · CASTA ·
DOMISEDA Δ

CIL interpunctuates the first five words and places a dot, instead of the ivy-leaf, at the end.

In publishing the epitaph of this virtuous lady as trochaic septenarii (*Carm. epigr. Lat.* 237), Bücheler criticizes the prosody of line 1 and has to propose an additional but non-existent syllable to make line 2 scan. Further, line 2 is unusually crowded with short syllables, including the *hapax legomenon* compound *domiseda* (cf. *ThLL s.v.*), which may have fallen on the Roman ear as a slightly ridiculous attempt at a high poetic flight. The quality of the verse, if verse it is, is hardly better than that of its counterparts in the modern press. But did the relict really intend to write poetry at all?

IV. In the floor of the disused chapel of the villa a slab broken at the right end, 57 x 20 cm., is inscribed in rather amateurish and badly cut letters (pl. 76, fig. 5):

VICTORI INNOCENTISSIMO · F[ilio
QVI · VIXIT · ANNOS · VIII · MESES · VIII
· D[ies. . . .
DIPOSITVS · NONAS · AVGVST · POST ·
CO[nsulatam
GRATIANI · AVG · ET · EQVITI MATER DO[lens
Interment took place on August 5, 375.

My indebtedness to Dr. Lieb for help with the preceding inscriptions has been frequent, but too scattered for individual acknowledgment; the following inscriptions depend largely upon his observations and, when appropriate, are recorded in his own words.

V. Two fragments of a marble slab embedded in the wall and paving of the courtyard of the villa are inscribed in decorative and well cut letters verging upon cursive; only the larger fragment, from the left-hand edge, was photographed (pl. 76, fig. 6).

The first two letters of line 1 are unquestionable, and there is only a limited choice for the third and fourth. The space between C and V suggests a dot, and hence a proper name; the following is a possible restoration of the first fragment:

C·VIT[or C·VIP[or C·VIN[or
possibly C·VIR[.....sodali

sarcophagus could easily have been moved at any time from the family's city property to the country estate, which is indeed "on a pleasant hill facing the Porta del Popolo," but at such a distance as to make any relationship between it and the Porta at least as strained as relationship between the Pantheon area and the Porta. Did the sarcophagus go from S. Lorenzo in Lucina to the Casale before or after Keyssler's visit, and did Keyssler see it there while changing horses as he came from the north? The foregoing speculations are significant as at least providing a rational explanation of how

FLAVI[aliXviro
STLITIB[us iudicandis
QVAES[tori⁷ aedili
CERIA[li

The other fragment has only the letters AE·M and traces of letters on the succeeding line; no restoration is certain.

Flavi() at this point in the text points to the proposed restoration rather than to the name of a man or woman. *Xviri stlitibus iudicandis* were not usually *sodales Flaviales* and, conversely, most *sodales Flaviales* were not *Xviri stlitibus iudicandis*, but Dessau *ILS* 1077 includes both honors. Unless Dessau intentionally selected the more imposing records, *Xviri stlitibus iudicandis* often served in numerous other capacities including urban or provincial *quaestorships* (frequently abbreviated to *Q*); if our man was typical, a good deal of the stone has been lost.

. . . *aedili* *Ceria* [li . . . , supplied by Dr. Lieb, is obviously correct. Dessau lists six occurrences of the title, mostly of military men who had discharged various civilian offices including urban and provincial *quaestorships* and judicial functions; none of the six need be sepulchral, and several of them are clearly honorary, although the honor may be posthumous.

VI. A small cippus in altar form, 62 cm. high by 28.5 cm. wide by 25 cm. thick, carries an inscription of six lines, beneath which is an *ascia*; on the right and left sides of the altar, respectively, are the *patera* and ewer. The condition of the stone is very poor; only the top line is wholly legible; the ends of the remaining lines can be made out with difficulty, but the remainder is almost wholly eroded (pl. 76, fig. 7).

DIS MANIBVS SAC
..... CIO
..... AE
..... RNIVS
..... O 5
..... POSVIT⁸
ascia

Bei diesem schlechten Zustand bleibt es schwierig, festzustellen, ob die Inschrift bereits veröffentlicht ist—sie ist aber mit keinem der *RE* Suppl. 3, 168 genannten Steine mit *ascia* aus Rom identisch.

VII. Grabaltar, links und unten gebrochen, 51 cm. hoch, 25 cm. breit, 29 cm. tief, schlecht lesbar.

this particular inscription reached its present location, an explanation which casts no inherent doubt upon the tradition that the other inscriptions at the Casale were locally found.

⁷ However, cf. Dessau 915, *decemvir stlitibus iudicandis ex s.c. post quaesturam*.

⁸ "Nach den Aufnahmen sieht es aus wie: Dis Manibus sac | [. . .] cio | *Hermae* | *Calpurnius* | *Agatho* | *amico posuit*, wofür ich ohne Nachprüfung des Steines nicht bürgen kann und was keineswegs eine druckreife Lesung ist." Yet it deserves mention at least in a footnote.

SVS

.COL

ET

F.

VIII. Unterteil einer Grabschrift, seitlich und oben gebrochen, 10.5 cm. hoch, 38 cm. breit, Tiefe nicht messbar:

AELIVS VERVS MARITVS

Es ist die Schlusszeile der Inschrift; der Name kommt in *CIL* 6 und 14 nicht vor.

IX. Bruchstück, rings gebrochen, 6.5 cm. hoch, 17 cm. breit, Tiefe nicht messbar:

A F

X. Bruchstück, links und unten Rand, oben und rechts gebrochen, nicht deutlich lesbar:

CL oder ϕ (?)

HOWARD COMFORT

HAVERFORD COLLEGE

TWO DEER HEADS FROM APULIA

PLATES 77-78

Fifty years ago, the Metropolitan Museum acquired a large number of terracottas from Taranto in Apulia. One of these, the head of a yearling deer (pl. 77, figs. 1-4),¹ merits publication not only for its high artistic quality but especially for the information it contributes to our knowledge of mold-made ceramics.

The deer's head is modeled freehand in layer upon layer of fine clay over a core of the same material. It is a strikingly realistic characterization of the animal. The organic structure of the head is pyramidal: wide at the dome-shaped forehead and narrowing to a point at the tip of the muzzle. The eyes bulge in their sockets. Their lids are meticulously carved and enhance the lifelike expression. The fleshy covering of the high-arched brows is suggested by two soft folds that sag from the brows and terminate in lacrimal pouches. The tendons of the jaws and the veining of the super-maxillary regions are rendered with forceful realism. The muzzle, alas, is damaged. Of the nostrils, only one remains: it is shown in a relaxed position, with the oval wings separated from the inner cartilage by a deep channel.

Although only a head, the object is complete. It is not a fragment of a statuette because, rather than ending in a break as we should expect, the head is crudely finished off at the back. One further detail should be noted. Four short pegs of clay, carelessly stuck on and flattened with the fingers, mark the points on the

deer head where one would expect to see antlers and ears.

These pegs provide the clue to the function of our head without a body because they appear to be location markers for the antlers and ears. Therefore what we have before us is not a finished product, but a patrix, or master model for a mold. With the mold, or matrix, derived from it, a whole series of identical deer heads could have been produced which would all have had pegs in place of antlers and ears, for these projecting members could not be cast in a simple mold and had to be made separately and attached to each impression. The pegs assured uniformity in the attachment of these antlers and ears to any number of mechanical replicas formed from the original mold.

The question now arises as to what function such a deer head without a body would have fulfilled. For an answer to this question we fortunately do not have to go outside the Metropolitan Museum. Among the several Apulian red-figured rhyta, or drinking vessels shaped like the head of an animal, in this Museum's possession, one (pl. 78, figs. 5-6)² displays a deer head so similar to that of our patrix that there can be no doubt that this is the class of object for which our master model served.

In this rhyton, the deer's eyes are somewhat smaller and flatter than in the patrix. The supra-orbital cavities are more shallow. The tear-ducts are less carefully defined. The brows are less arched and the swollen facial veins noticed in the deer head of the patrix are not represented.

In general less attention is given to surface detail in the rhyton than in the patrix. Nevertheless, these discrepancies do not hide the fundamental relationship which exists between the two objects: the rhyton must have been formed from a patrix very similar to ours.

The rhyton has a wheel-made open-mouth cup attached to the molded head directly behind the ears. This cup flares toward the rim and has an overhanging lip. The upper edge of the lip is recessed and the lower edge is slightly rounded. A loop handle of concave-convex section bridges head and cup, the top of the loop just touching the rim of the cup.

The mold-made deer head of the rhyton is covered with black glaze both inside and out, except for the inner surface of the ears and for the eyes. The latter are marked with a black dash within an oval to represent the pupil and iris.

In the center of the cup, Eros, naked and bejeweled, is seated on a rock. In his right hand he holds a shallow bowl containing offerings. His left hand is on the rock at his side. This scene is flanked by open palmettes, and the remaining free space is filled with floral forms, rosettes, and various other ornaments.

¹ 10.210.124. Rogers Fund. Height 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ " (7.1 cm.); length 4 $\frac{1}{16}$ " (11.9 cm.). The clay is cream-colored, fine-grained, and slightly micaceous. Reported to have come from Taranto.

² 03.3.2. (G.R. 634). Rogers Fund. Height 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " (21 cm.); diameter at the rim 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ " (9.3 cm.). American Art Association sale catalog: Henry G. Marquand Collection (Jan. 24-30, 1903)

no. 959, where it is stated to be from Taranto. Missing: the right ear, left antler, and most of the right antler. These parts were added in wood in modern times and have been recently removed. Chipped and spawled; dull black glaze unevenly applied, crackled in places. The clay is light orange, fine-grained, and non-micaceous.

White and yellow accessory color is extensively employed.

This type of painted decoration is common to a large class of late Apulian vases dated in the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. Another vase perhaps decorated by the same painter is an askos in the Vatican around which two other askoi, three lekanai, and a kantharos have been grouped.³ Other rhyta by the same potter, with deer heads probably derived from the same patris as our rhyton, are preserved in the Louvre and in the Naples Museum.⁴

Perhaps at this point we had better give a brief description of how a rhyton was made and the role played by the patris. First the master model was built in several layers over a clay core. The layer construction of our patris is clearly visible where the muzzle is fractured (pl. 77, fig. 2). All undercutting had to be avoided, so as to insure a clean separation of patris and mold. Projecting members such as antlers and ears could likewise not be molded and had to be omitted from the first stage of the process.

Two molds were required for every animal head, because the two halves repeat each other in mirror reverse. For this reason the patris after firing was divided down the middle by a line in order that a right-hand and a left-hand mold might be produced. This was probably done by building up first one side and then the other, preventing the two halves from adhering by coating the joint with a mixture of potash and grease. As soon as the mold halves had stiffened sufficiently, they were carefully detached from the patris and allowed to dry to a leather-hard state. They could now be handled safely for any reworking deemed necessary.⁵ After firing, the two-piece press mold produced in this manner was ready to be used.

A ball or slab of wet clay would next be spread out-

ward from the center of each mold half. After the edges of the clay had been scored with a pointed instrument and brushed with slip, or diluted clay, to assure a strong bond, the right and the left halves of the mold were pressed firmly together and tied. After allowing the clay to dry and shrink sufficiently, the mold would be untied and the impression removed. Details could now be sharpened or corrected if necessary.

As for the wheel-made cup, it would be thrown and raised on the potter's wheel in the normal fashion. The cup was then joined to the molded head in the same manner in which the two molded impressions were joined, namely by grooving the joint and brushing the surfaces with slip. Next, the parts that had to be made separately, such as antlers and ears, would be attached. The addition of the handle probably came last. Finally, the rhyton was ready to be handed to the painter for decoration. This accomplished, it was placed in the kiln on its rim and fired.

Recognize^d as a patris for a rhyton, our deer head becomes an object of signal importance; for, whereas there are hundreds of rhyta,⁶ the New York patris (pl. 77, figs. 1-4) is one of the very few ancient master models yet to have been identified with certainty.⁷ The fact that only a few fragmentary terracotta patrices have been identified up to now has given rise to the belief that ancient patrices were more generally made in a perishable material such as unfired clay or wax.⁸ The identification of our terracotta deer head as a patris speaks against this. The reason that patrices have not survived in greater numbers is not that they have perished owing to the supposedly fragile nature of their material, but lies rather in their very purpose. Patrices, like molds, are tools, and as such were not placed in tombs like vases, jewelry, and the like.⁹

³ Vatican Y3. A. D. Trendall, *Vasi Italiani* II (1955) 158f, pl. 42 a-b.

⁴ Louvre MN21, height $9\frac{7}{8}$ " (24 cm.); diameter at the rim $4\frac{7}{8}$ " (12.4 cm.); female head, near the Amphorae Group (*JHS* 74 [1954] 120f). Naples Stg. 101, decoration by the same hand as Vatican V17 (A. D. Trendall, *op.cit.* 111f, pl. 29f).

⁵ The only mold for a rhyton identified to date is a small fragment of a bull's head from the Athenian Pnyx. Agora T190, *Hesperia* Suppl. 7 (1943) 158, no. 112, fig. 70. There is no evidence of reworking. I wish to thank Miss Lucy Talcott for this observation, transmitted to me in a letter.

⁶ Here are other Apulian deer heads that are related to our rhyton: Bari, Museo Nazionale, Case 10, female head between wings; Berlin, Staatliche Museen 3424, 3429-30, 3569, 3570-73; Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg 2663, Ada Bruhn, *From the Collection of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek* II (1938) 138f, figs. 23-24; Hanover, Kestner-Museum 816, unglazed, height $9\frac{1}{8}$ " (23.2 cm.); diameter at the rim $3\frac{3}{8}$ " (9 cm.). Harrogate, Royal Pump Room, lent by Benjamin Kent of Tatefield Hall, to which Dietrich von Bothmer has kindly drawn my attention; London, British Museum 1772.3.20 xix. 292, unglazed, W[illiam] T[emple] 280, unglazed, F420, Walters, *Catalogue* (1896); London, Victoria and Albert Museum C795-1909, unglazed, height, $7\frac{3}{4}$ " (19.7 cm.), information kindly supplied by Arthur Lane; Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 1431, Lau, *Die griechischen Vasen* pl. 40.1, Kantharos Group

(cf. *JHS* 74 [1954] 116ff); Naples, National Museum Stg. 78, much restored and repainted; New York market, plastic part from the same mold as Oxford G281, flying Eros carrying mirror and tympanon; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G281, plastic part from the same mold as the preceding, female head between wings; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1243, De Ridder, *Catalogue* II, 1245 (should be 1243?); Paris, Petit Palais 359, CV pl. 40.3,7,376, pl. 40.2,6, Campanian?, 377, pl. 40.4,8; Ruvo, Jatta Collection 11,38,188, all unglazed, 1171, kneeling Eros holding fan and grapes, 1228, female head, 1357, seated Eros holding cista, 1456, rosettes, 1522, decoration modern; San Simeon, Hearst Corporation, Estate no. 2371, SSW 12289 (Cat. Christie 23 July, 1936, no. 86), seated Eros holding ball and cista, to which Dietrich von Bothmer has kindly drawn my attention; Sèvres 6907.7, CV pl. 44.6; Taranto National Museum 6149, from Ceglie del Campo, unglazed; Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology C411, Robinson, Harcourt, and Illife, *Catalogue of the Greek Vases* 605, pl. 95 (misinterpreted in the text as a cow's head).

⁷ See the list given by R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the British Museum* (1954) I, 4, n. 1.

⁸ *ibidem* 4.

⁹ It is significant in this connection to note that the scant handful of terracotta fragments to have been tentatively identified as patrices were found in excavated potters' workshops. See n. 7 supra.

But of equal importance is the fact that the provenance of our patrix is known: Taranto. Whereas the discovery of a vase at Taranto would tell little about the place where it was made—it might well have been imported—the find of a patrix, a potter's tool, identifies the location of the find as the site of a workshop. This workshop at Taranto in all probability produced not only our patrix, but, judging from the close stylistic affinity, our Apulian deer head rhyton as well. And with the rhyton and its brothers in other museums we can include other Apulian rhyta, terminating in the heads of rams, goats, bulls, griffins and the like; for these form a homogenous group by virtue of their uniform painted decoration and must have been produced by a single workshop—a veritable factory, judging by the number of preserved specimens. This strengthens the theory, which previously had been a matter of conjecture, that Taranto was the seat of a flourishing ceramic industry in the fourth century B.C., and that the mass-produced Apulian red-figured rhyta of the common variety represented by the examples in the Metropolitan Museum may indeed be called "Tarentine" in the strict sense of the word.¹⁰

Last but not least, one should mention the significance of our deer head patrix for the understanding of a famous work of art in another medium. Perhaps the best-known of ancient deer to have survived is the life size bronze fawn from Herculaneum in the Naples Museum (pl. 77, fig. 7).¹¹ This exquisite animal study has been described as "probably a Roman copy of a late Greek original."¹² Owing perhaps to the absence of dated comparative material, a more precise attribution has to date not been attempted. Such material is now at hand. The stylistic affinity of the Herculaneum Fawn (pl. 77, fig. 7) and the New York patrix (pl. 77, figs. 1-4) jumps to the eye. The head of this bronze deer, with its highly naturalistic treatment, namely the bulging eyes, arching brows, tensed sinews, and swollen facial veins, could be described in almost the same terms employed for our description of the patrix. Similar renderings of deer heads occur also in Attic rhyta of the late fifth century B.C. An example in Lyon and another in Basle (pl. 78, figs. 8-9) are characteristic representatives of their class.¹³ These

late fifth century deer heads, however, combine a somewhat harder and more ornamental treatment of the lids and brows with a flatter and simpler rendering of the cheeks and jaws. Comparing the deer head of the Apulian rhyton in the Metropolitan Museum (pl. 78, figs. 5-6), a work datable, as said, to the third quarter of the fourth century B.C., with the head of the bronze Fawn in Naples (pl. 77, fig. 7), we note the same relative elongation and flattening of forms and reduction of surface detail in the rhyton as compared to the bronze which was noted above in the stylistic comparison of the Museum's deer head rhyton and deer head patrix.

These observations lead me to the conclusion that the Herculaneum Fawn, like the New York patrix, should be placed somewhere between the Attic rhyta of the late fifth century and the Apulian rhyta of the third quarter of the fourth century B.C.

HERBERT HOFFMANN

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HAMBURG

MYCENAEAN BIRDS REUNITED

PLATE 79

In Mediterranean archaeology the site of Enkomi is always associated with Mycenaean pottery, and in fact one may assert that its soil has produced more Mycenaean vases than any other single site either in the Aegean or in the Near East. In spite of long and numerous excavations both by archaeologists and looters, it still continues to produce every year considerable quantities of Mycenaean pottery, which are either buried in its rich tombs, or lie broken on the superimposed floors of its houses and public buildings.¹

One of the richest harvests of Mycenaean pottery at Enkomi was made in 1896 by a British Expedition (Turner's Bequest). The material, however, from this excavation has not been published satisfactorily. Much of it has been mentioned in brief or has been illustrated by photographs or drawings,² but much is still completely unknown.³ Some of that material remained in the Cyprus Museum,⁴ and not all of what was taken

of the material appears in unsatisfactory drawings. A good deal more of this material appears in H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum I ii* (London 1912) hereafter BMC. Each vase or sherd is here given a better description, but many of them are not illustrated, and for the rest one depends on small scale drawings. Photographs of the most important pieces appear in *CVA Great Britain, fasc. 1* (British Museum fasc. 1).

¹ Through the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum and of the Keeper of the Greek and Roman Department the present writer has been able to make use of this unpublished material in a forthcoming book on the Mycenaean vases of the Pictorial Style, and in various other articles which have already appeared in archaeological journals.

² See J. L. Myres and M. Ohn. Richter, *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* (Oxford 1899) 183-86. Some of this material has been illustrated by F. H. Stubbings in his *Mycenaean Pottery from the Levant* (Cambridge 1951) and by the present

¹⁰ Cf. P. Willeumier, *Tarente* 436ff, A. D. Tendall, *op.cit.* 105.

¹¹ G. M. A. Richter, *Animals in Greek Sculpture* 73, fig. 150; Ruesch, *Guida del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* no. 860.

¹² G. M. A. Richter, *loc.cit.*

¹³ Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, E2/4, from Capua. A, B, and C, palmette. Assigned by Beazley to the Group of Class W (*Paralipomena*, from which Sir John has kindly allowed me to quote). Basle, Historisches Museum, 1906.277; height 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " (20 cm.) B, woman; A and C, palmette. The Group of Class W.

¹ Cf. V. Karageorghis, "Supplementary notes on the Mycenaean vases from the Swedish Tombs at Enkomi," *Op.Ath* (1960) 135.

² The first publication appeared in A. S. Murray and others, *Excavations in Cyprus* (London 1900), in which tomb-groups are given very sketchy treatment, and only a small fraction

away is now in the British Museum; at a later date "specimens" of Mycenaean pottery were sent away to other Museums in the United Kingdom (e.g. the Manchester University Museum,⁵ the Reading University Museum),⁶ and even to Museums on the Continent, e.g. the Musée de Cinquantenaire in Brussels.⁷ It is very unfortunate that in some cases fragments have been sent away which, as the present writer found out, belonged to vases or fragments which are in the British Museum.⁸ A great service to Mycenaean archaeology and the archaeology of the Late Bronze Age in general would be rendered if the 1896 Enkomi tomb-groups were reassembled and properly published. By publishing a crater from these excavations, which had an adventurous life, the writer hopes to induce others to cooperate in undertaking this task.

In 1957 a large number of Mycenaean sherds, mostly of the pictorial style, was rediscovered in one of the cupboards of the Students' Galleries in the Cyprus Museum.⁹ They apparently form a group and may well come from the 1896 excavations at Enkomi. They were labelled "Enkomi Tomb 10," but this number was given rather arbitrarily when they were retraced by the Museum assistants more than ten years ago.¹⁰ They include sherds from more than ten vases, ranging stylistically from Myc. IIIA to Myc. IIIB.¹¹ Several fragments, when mended, made up a substantial part of an amphoroid crater (pl. 79, fig. 1). Enough survives to show characteristics of its early form:¹² short concave neck, high broad shoulder, ridged handles. Diam.: 31 cm., height (as restored) 43 cm., ware: buff, pinkish, of good Mycenaean quality. A smooth shining slip of a lighter color covers the surface. Decoration in brown to dark red lustrous paint.

The two shoulder panels between the handles are decorated with a frieze of birds. Below the handles and next to the shoulder bands is another zone of equal width, encircling the belly of the vase. It is framed with bands of paint, and is filled with four rows of

writer in various articles and his forthcoming book (cited supra).

⁵ There are several sherds from Mycenaean vases in the Manchester University Museum, some of them from pictorially decorated craters. It is interesting to note that a fragment from an open crater decorated with birds belongs to a crater of which the British Museum possesses another substantial fragment (registered at a later date under inv. no. 1938/II-20/4). These fragments have never been published. They have been studied by the present writer through the kindness of Mr. Th. Burton-Brown.

⁶ These have been published in *CVA* Great Britain, fasc. 12 (Reading fasc. 1).

⁷ Published in *CVA* Belgique (Bruxelles) Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire, fasc. 1. They were acquired by this museum in 1904, "par voie d'échange avec le British Museum."

⁸ See note 5. In this connection one should also consider *CVA* Belgique, pl. 100, no. 17 and *CVA* Great Britain, pl. 23, no. 15.

⁹ Dr. H. W. Catling first brought the existence of these sherds to the writer's notice.

¹⁰ They were then all found in a box in a cupboard underneath the shelves which contained the material from the

checkers, alternately plain and filled with chevrons, forming overlapping squares. The outside surface of the handles (only one survives) is decorated with vertically set parallel chevrons instead of the much more usual solid paint.

The British Museum possesses two fragments of a Mycenaean crater found in Tomb 12 at Enkomi by the Turner Trust Expedition. They bear numbers C374 and C681 respectively.¹³ The excavators failed to observe not only that they belong to the same vase, but that in fact they join; they published them as parts of two different vases, giving them two different inventory numbers.¹⁴ The unique checkered panel on C681 enabled the present writer to associate these two fragments with the fragmentary amphoroid crater in the Cyprus Museum described above. True plaster copies of the fragments have generously been made for the writer by the British Museum, and fit exactly on side A.¹⁵ The result is shown in pl. 79, fig. 2.

Side A: The shoulder of the vase was decorated with a frieze of four birds, walking to the right, of which three survive. The bird is excessively elongated and pronouncedly curved. It is drawn in thick outline with a thinner inside border. The body is filled with interchanging vertical groups of parallel strokes and chevrons separated by vertical and curved lines; the narrow tail part is filled with parallel chevrons. From the base of the neck springs a slightly curved horizontal line, intersected by a row of vertical parallel strokes. This probably represents the wing. In front of each bird there is a high-stemmed flower, so stylized as to look like an abstract motive. Below the birds are other filling ornaments: a "tricurved arch" motive below the first bird to the right, and parallel chevrons below the other.

Side B: Traces of two birds survive, showing the same characteristics in drawing and composition as side A. Vertical groups of parallel chevrons and horizontal parallel strokes fill the space under the low-

Swedish Excavations, Enkomi Tomb 10. It was then thought that they might be sherd material from the Swedish Excavations. This assumption may be proved erroneous in many ways.

¹¹ The most important of these fragments are published in the writer's forthcoming book.

¹² Cf. A. Furumark, *The Mycenaean Pottery, Analysis and Classification* (Stockholm 1941) (hereafter *MP*) fig. 4, type 53. This vase now bears inv. no. 1958/1-10/1.

¹³ Drawings and descriptions of both these fragments appear in *BMC*, fig. 121 and fig. 249 respectively.

¹⁴ Tomb 12 "had been discovered and plundered by the villagers of Enkomi previous to our Excavations," is stated in *Excavations in Cyprus*, 38. From the summary description of the finds and from the group photograph in *ibid.* 39, fig. 12, one may imagine its wealth. The majority of the pottery points to a date in the Myc. IIIA period, though there are Myc. IIIB pieces both in this group and in that rediscovered in the Cyprus Museum; it is quite possible that the tomb contained more than one burial layer.

¹⁵ The present writer is grateful to Mr. Haynes, Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, through whose personal interest and kindness it has been possible to reunite these fragments, even by proxy.

er part of the curved bodies (pl. 79, fig. 3).

Similar compositions are quite common in Mycenaean vase-painting; but the bird figure had an earlier tradition in Aegean art, appearing in the so-called Palace Style vase-painting of LMII.¹⁶ Though originally naturalistic, it gradually suffered stylization, and by the Myc. IIIA period it appears in a highly conventional and simplified form; it was adapted to ceramics much earlier than other pictorial motives, e.g. bulls, chariot groups etc. with no earlier tradition in vase-painting, which retained some of the naturalism of the major art of fresco painting during the early phases of the Myc. IIIA period. The frieze arrangement of the birds, which had an antecedent in the partridge and hoopoe fresco in the Palace of Knossos,¹⁷ suits satisfactorily the narrow shoulder zone of the crater. The identical repetition of the bird figure supplements the decorative effects created already by the filling motives inside the outlined bodies.

Mycenaean vase painters' drawings of birds followed a more or less standardized form which may be traced back to the Palace Style:¹⁸ an elongated body, with its curves, especially that of the neck, prominently showing; it is usually drawn in outline, with vertical groups of small linear or other motives filling the inside of the body. In the field there are commonly stylized floral motives.¹⁹ This standardized form of bird figure and the frieze composition continued without variation throughout the 14th century. The bird by itself offered very few opportunities for variation in figure drawing and composition. It is only in the Myc. IIIB period, when birds appear in association with other animals, that the bird acquires a new importance in lively compositions.²⁰

There are several Myc. IIIA bird compositions with which to compare the birds of our crater, both in drawing and composition. A similar division of the body in vertical bands filled with groups of horizontal lines and parallel chevrons appears on birds on an amphoroid crater from Enkomi, B.M. C372,²¹ and another open crater by the same painter from Mycenae.²² The birds on these two craters are less elongated but the other features (double outline, curved neck and legs) are the same. Stylized flower motives also appear in the field in front of the birds. Their frieze arrangement is also identical with that on our crater. Perhaps

the nearest parallel for the elongated outlined form of the body is an amphoroid crater from the Swedish Excavations at Enkomi: the filling of the inside of the body is different, but stylized wings appear springing from the back of the neck as on the birds of our crater.²³ There are also floral motives in the field.

On a small fragment from Arpera (pl. 79, fig. 4)²⁴ which comes from the shoulder of an amphoroid crater, it is not difficult to distinguish part of the body of a bird, rendered in double outline, and part of its wing above the body and behind the neck. Even from what survives, with a careful comparison with the details of the figure drawing of the birds on our crater, one may recognize the hand of the same painter. The rendering of the outline of the body, its division in vertical bands by curved lines, the filling of these panels with horizontal strokes and chevrons, and above all the particular fashion of rendering the wing betray the particular mannerism of one painter.

What is important, however, in the decoration of this crater, is the checkerboard band below the shoulder zone. Two superimposed decorated zones on the same crater is not common in Mycenaean vase-painting, though it often occurs in late Palace Style.²⁵ It is probable that here we may have a distant echo of Palace Style vase decoration, in spite of the chronological interval between the two. This crater may be dated, on account of its form, to the Myc. IIIA period. A very similar checkerboard appears on a Palace Style pithoid three-handled jar, recently found at Pylos,²⁶ covering the upper part of the body. This is not the first time that such distant echoes from the Palace Style vase decoration appear on Myc. IIIA vase painting. On a bird crater from Dhékalia, which is one of the earliest of all amphoroid craters found in the Levant, the body is divided into vertical bands, decorated alternately with wavy lines and bird-on-tree compositions,²⁷ which recall the Palace Style syntax.²⁸

As seen above this bird crater is a sufficiently important specimen of the early Mycenaean pictorial style to justify a separate publication. At the same time its adventurous history may induce others to attempt further reunions of similar *disiecta membra* now scattered in the museums of Europe.

CYPRUS MUSEUM
NICOSIA

V. KARAGEORGHIS

¹⁶ E.g. on the pithoid jar from Argos (Bossert, *Althetra* [Berlin 1928] fig. 261).

¹⁷ Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos II*, frontispiece.

¹⁸ Cf. birds on a "large painted jar" from Knossos, Evans, *op.cit.* IV, fig. 278.

¹⁹ See such birds in Furumark, *MP* mot. 7: 4-8.

²⁰ E.g. Sjöqvist, *Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age* (Stockholm 1940) fig. 21/1.

²¹ *CVA* Great Britain, pl. 21/4; Stubbings, *op.cit.* pl. vii 2.

²² *Praktika* (1950) 220, fig. 23.

²³ E. Gjerstad and others, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition I* (Stockholm 1934) pl. cxxi/5; Furumark, *MP* mot. 7: 10. Cf. also wing of the bird on an early Myc. IIIA fragment from Atchana-Alalakh (Sir L. Woolley, *Alalakh* [London

1955] pl. cxxviii f) and on another fragment from Maroni, B.M. C375 (see *OpAth* [1960] pl. v.3).

²⁴ Found by the Archaeological Survey Section of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus. Thanks are due to Dr. H. W. Catling for permission to make use of this fragment here. It is now in the Archaeological Survey HQ and bears inv. no. CS338.

²⁵ Cf. Evans, *The Palace of Minos IV*, figs. 282-83.

²⁶ See "Chronique des fouilles en 1956," *BCH* 81:2 (1957) 558, fig. 7.

²⁷ A. H. S. Megaw, "Excavations in Cyprus, 1956," *Suppl. JHS* 77 (1957) pl. iii, d.

²⁸ Cf. Evans, *The Palace of Minos IV*, figs. 238, 260, 269, 285.

THE TYRANNICIDES ONCE MORE

PLATE 80

The Roman sarcophagus outside the Museum of Eleusis (Kourouniotis *Ἐλευσίς, Ὀδῆγὸς τῶν Ἀνασκαφῶν καὶ τοῦ Μουσείου* [1934] 75-76, fig. 44; translated by Bronceer [1936] 99, fig. 44) presents the following remarkable feature: on its main face, decorated with the fight against the Kalydonian boar, two heroes correspond in position and action to the Tyrannicides (pl. 80, fig. 1). The imitation is modified: Harmodios wears a short chlamys, is holding a club, not a sword, his right forearm is not exactly above his head (as in Miss Richter's reconstruction in the Metropolitan Museum); Aristogeiton is beardless, and is holding a spear, not a sword, with both hands. In both figures the relation to the statues is obvious but neither of them, considered alone, can be claimed as a real copy. Aristogeiton against the boar reminds one of Aristogeiton against the sow in a few red-figured vase-paintings from the Theseus cycle: a) British Museum E 84: *ARV* 739 no. 4; cf. also *AJA* 55 (1951) pl. 22A. b) Harrow on the Hill 52: *ARV* 660. c) Verona: *ARV* 659 no. 110. d) Madrid: *ARV* 800 no. 20. Harmodios and Aristogeiton against the boar remind one of the same heroes against the Kalydonian boar in a red-figured vase-painting: Berlin 2538: *ARV* 739 no. 5. No direct influence, however, from red-figured vase-painting seems justifiable, and the Eleusis relief seems to be another notable example testifying to the celebrity of the Tyrannicides.

With regard to the relative position of the two figures, we note a similarity with the group on the Boston oenochoe (W. Hahland, *Vasen um Meidias* pl. 6 A), and that of an Athenian silver coin (Svoronos, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes* pl. 74, no. 25): the two figures move to the left, Harmodios is seen from the front, Aristogeiton from the back. On the Boston oenochoe Aristogeiton follows Harmodios without overlapping. In the Eleusis relief Aristogeiton follows Harmodios with slight overlapping; and is nearer to the spectator, though the left foot of Harmodios is in the foreground. On the Athenian silver coin the two heroes are side by side.

The Eleusis sarcophagus is not the only sarcophagus showing the Tyrannicides. The two heroes are also recognizable on a Roman sarcophagus in Salerno (pl. 80, fig. 2) dating from the end of the third century A.D. (Carl Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs* III, part 2, pl. 82 [no. 239]). Both figures move to the right—Harmodios facing to the left—in three-quarter view, fighting against the Kalydonian boar. In this relief the modification of the two heroes is considerable, especially of Aristogeiton. Both figures are, of course, an indirect imitation—the latest imitation we have, perhaps, of the famous group. No remarks, therefore, are allowed as to the relative position of the two original figures.

¹ Cf. *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 16 (1957) 6 n.2. (hereafter abbreviated as *Record*). A list of his

The two Tyrannicides are also recognizable, though considerably modified, on the amphora of the Panagurishte Treasure (Svoboda and Concev, *Neue Denkmäler antiker Toreutik* 150, fig. 16, pl. 19 below, and pl. 20 above). Harmodios is bearded, has a mantle over his left arm, a scabbard in his left hand, his right arm is not above his head; Aristogeiton is in three-quarter view, beardless, wears a chlamys, his left arm is not forward. The head of Harmodios reminds one of the head of Aristogeiton in the Vatican; but this similarity may be accidental. On the Panagurishte oenochoe the movement of both heroes is to the right, Aristogeiton follows Harmodios; and is to the left of the figures themselves—a rather unusual variety. No remarks, however, seem to be allowed as to the relative position of the original figures, since the Panagurishte oenochoe does not seem to be an Attic product (cf. also Zontschew, *Der Goldschatz von Panagjurische* 17, where a workshop in Asia Minor [Pontus] is suggested; for the date of the Treasure cf. also Picard in *RA* [1954] 92f; and Hoffmann in *AJA* 61 [1957] 391).

The Eleusis relief allows the following remarks: It is a Greek work of the second century A.D. which presents itself as a new variation in the long list of imitations of the Tyrannicides: it stands between the Boston oenochoe and the above mentioned Athenian silver coin. On this relief both Harmodios and Aristogeiton seem to be treated individually. What is more, each figure has the long side emphasized as the real front.

One may conclude that the two statues were meant to be seen separately, and each one was designed for two separate side views (cf. Kardara, *AJA* 55 [1951] 293ff; for other recent discussions cf. Langlotz, *Gymnasium* 58 [1951] 20ff; Otto Walter, *JOAI* 40 [1953] 126ff; Brunnsäcker, *The Tyrant-Slayers of Kritios and Nesiotes* [1955]; Hafner, *Gnomon* 29 (1957) 460ff; Shefton, *AJA* 64 (1960) 173ff).

CHRYSOULA KARDARA

ATHENS

THE AMPERSAND PAINTER

PLATES 81-83

The following remarks are in the nature of a memorandum about studies on Corinthian painters' style. They concern one of the livelier painters active in perhaps the third decade of the sixth century B.C. or a little beyond this.¹ In order to gain some comprehension of the course of his artistic development it is safest to begin with what is obviously his latest work known to us.

No. 4 (of the list below) is rather striking for the attenuation of both vase shape (notice the completely vertical handles) and animals of the frieze. Although remi-

works was published in my *Geschichte der Korinthischen Vasen* (Basel 1953) List 84 (hereafter abbreviated as *GKV*).

niscent of the so-called "Delicate Style," the drawing actually has reached that stage of decorative attrition, paradoxically combined with a certain fluidity of form, which is characteristic of the Late Corinthian period (GKV 84). In Nos. 2 and 10, by keeping our eyes on the leg treatment of the quadrupeds (goats and does) we can observe a slightly less mature and concentrated, therefore earlier, stage of this decorative attrition. Still earlier, on this basis, should be No. 8, which forms a convincing link between Nos. 2 and 10, on the one hand, and on the other No. 9, which represents the apogee of the painter's work as we now know it. The fine technical quality of this oinochoe, evident in clean potting, firm glaze and excellent dichromy, is matched by considerable clarity, strength and even suppleness of the drawing. The quality of suppleness has been amply apparent up to this point, which we may take as the dividing line between late and early in his work. However, the quality of strength, which one rather misses in the later works, is present and actually predominates in the works earlier than No. 9, such as No. 5 with its firmly planted, powerful and not very graceful figures. Only the rather neat use of dots gives a hint here of the late stage represented by No. 4. I should take Nos. 1 and 6 also to belong roughly to the same stage as No. 5, certainly to the painter's early period. No. 7 is somewhat more difficult to place as it has been subjected to repainting, but also is no doubt early. Its rather angular and extenuated figures are reminiscent of those of a pyxis in Berkeley which has already been discussed in its relation to our painter.² There can hardly be any doubt about the approximate contemporaneity of these two pots which seem to me to characterize the transition from Middle to Late Corinthian painting.

Such in its main outlines is the development in the work of the Ampersand Painter as I now see it. In the light of this, it seems safe to say that although the quality of his work varies considerably, the character does not; it presents some aspects of neatness and firmness at all stages with varying amounts of artistic inspiration. With this picture of his work clearly in mind, I should like to call attention to a pyxis in Copenhagen which may unreservedly be classified as being in the manner of the Ampersand Painter. I publish here two detailed views (pl. 82, figs. 11-12) which show how nearly the painter of the Copenhagen pyxis came to catching the style of his more gifted colleague. However, even though many³ of the stylizations are similar, almost bafflingly so, to those of the Ampersand Painter, the work cannot be fitted into the total character of the Ampersand Painter. It imitates the early period of his work in an apparent tendency to draw strong squarish animal torsos; but combined with this is a slapdash carelessness in the treatment of the legs, for example, of which the Ampersand Painter would not be guilty at this period (or ever): notice especially

the tendency to concave (and thus "double-jointed") legs which taper to matchstick size in the deer. Even in his latest period the Ampersand Painter draws legs of organic firmness. The result of this analysis of the drawing, arrived at independently, coincides with the result of a previous analysis on the basis of shape, viz., that it is contemporary with No. 5.⁴

These remarks illustrate the extent to which the Ampersand Painter has become a distinct concept for those concerned with Corinthian vase painters; it will therefore be timely to publish an up-to-date list of his works together with some illustrations of newly attributed and related vases which illustrate our painter's individuality (I shall recur to this theme below). In offering this list I am greatly indebted to D. A. Amyx for generously sharing the results of his museum research, for various suggestions and for permission to publish pl. 81, fig. 1. Thanks are also due to the Ashmolean Museum, British Museum, National Museum of Athens, National Museum of Copenhagen, and the Walters Art Gallery for permission to publish photographs of vases in their collections.

Bibliography: *NC* 307; *UCalPCA* 1 (1943) 205, 232 n.129; *BSA* 44 (1949) 234:10; *GKV* 51, 84; *Hesperia* 25 (1956) 75 n.14, 76 n.22; *Record* 16 (1957) 6ff.

Attributions:

Pyxides

1. Chicago: *NC* Cat. 898, pl. 29:7. (Payne)
2. Berlin: Inv. 3930 (not "3980": cf. A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium II* [Berlin 1885] 1001) from Corinth. E. Wilisch, *Die Altkorinthische Thonindustrie* (Leipzig 1892) pl. 1:12; *NC* Cat. 899. Pl. 81, figs. 2-3. Panther (r) between two grazing does (l); panther (r), bird or siren (l), panther (l), swan with folded wings (r). (Payne)
3. Munich: J 207 from Corinth. E. Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece 2* (London 1819) 200; Sieveking and Hackl, *Die königliche Vasensammlung zu München I*, No. 326 pl. 10; *NC* Cat. 869 pl. 29:1. Animal frieze. (Payne)
4. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum 1884.687. *CVA* Fs. 2 pl. 5:2,4,6; *Record* 16 (1957) 7 n.3. Pl. 82, figs. 8-10. Animal frieze. (Benson)
5. Princeton: Art Museum. *Record* 16 (1957) 6-11, figs. 1-3. Also illustrated on Naples National Museum negs. 848-849 (old group photos) indicating a previous history of the vase which was not known to me when I first published it. (Benson)
6. Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery 48.213. Pl. 81, fig. 5. I am grateful to Dr. D. K. Hill for

one can ascertain better from several detailed views of the piece not published here.

⁴ Cf. *Record* 16, 6 n.3.

² *University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology* 1, pl. 30 d-f and p. 225 (hereafter abbreviated as *UCalPCA*).

³ But certainly not all of the renderings are the same, as

the following details: "The frieze with animals varies from .042 to .043 m. between boundary lines, the animals being, therefore, slightly less than this at the heads, more at the tails. The order is: panther, sphinx, panther, goose, deer, panther, deer." (Amyx)

7. London: British Museum A 1374. Provenance probably Italy. Pl. 81, fig. 4. Animal frieze. Dipinto in red paint on underside of foot (I plan to publish this separately). (Joint attribution: Amyx-Benson)
8. Corinth Museum C-50-92 (neg. 7993). Pl. 83, fig. 14. Fragment with goat and panther. Apparently from the same well as C-50-101 (*Hesperia* 20 [1951] 294-96, pl. 89c and pls. 90-93d for the whole context). (Amyx)

Oinochoe

9. Rhodes: Inv. 12.567, Sepolcreto di Checraci, Kameiros. *CV A Fs.1* pl. 1,1; *CIRhod* 4 (1931) figs. 413-14. Dipinto: *BSA* 44 (1949) 234; *Record* 16 (1957) 8 n.5. Pl. 81, figs. 1,6. (Amyx)

Broad-bottomed oinochoe

10. Athens: National Museum 981. *Deltion* (1889) 236 no. 49; Collignon-Couve, *Catalogue des Vases Peints du Musée National d'Athènes* no. 533. Pl. 83, fig. 13. Two animal friezes; no lions or bulls in lower frieze as reported in *Deltion*. The correct order is goat (l) flanked by panthers; panther (r) flanked by panther and goat. (Joint attribution: Amyx-Benson)

Since the style of the Ampersand Painter is now fairly well defined and is characterized by certain almost invariably recurring traits such as the row of purple dots on the upper forelimb of quadrupeds, a type of ear representation on panthers resembling a

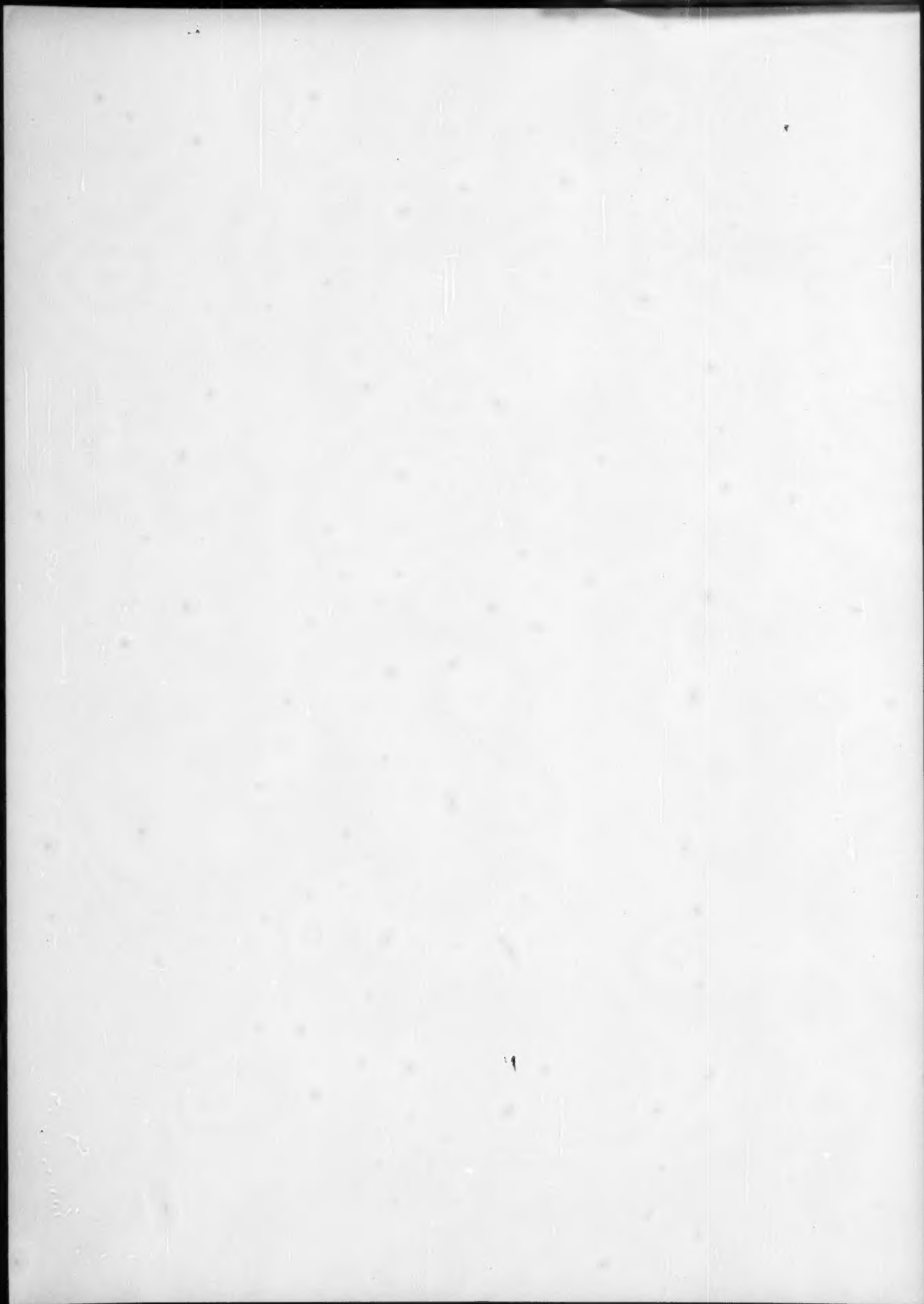
"w" with a half-circle on the forehead, together with rather neat filling ornaments, it is now possible to evaluate more accurately the pots previously cited as possibly having something to do with this painter (*GKV* 52). One of these (No. 4a), a broad-bottomed oinochoe in the Robinson Collection, I have since been able to study closely: pl. 81, fig. 7 shows that its painter used purple dots on an occasional figure although not in a precisely similar way. Otherwise his drawing is quite different from that of our painter, less compact and self-contained. The amphoriskoi in this category seem to me now to have even less to do with the Ampersand Painter. Certainly there is no evidence as yet that he ever painted amphoriskoi. However, there are a number of pots of this shape, mostly unpublished, which need further investigation.

It is perhaps worth noting, as Amyx has pointed out to me, that the Geledakis Painter on occasion seems to copy the trick of putting purple dots on the shoulder of a quadruped, which poses the problem as to who actually originated the practice. Of course, it may have been neither. The Ampersand Painter has employed on No. 10 a technique more associated with the Geledakis Painter: a row of incised dots or flecks inside the shoulder line. Taking such detailed correspondences together, one can safely postulate that the two painters were close colleagues. It may also be remarked, in view of the quite clearly emerging personality of our painter, that it is not feasible to accept Payne's association of the amphora in Heidelberg with him (*NC Cat.* 1154). The assured work of the Ampersand Painter offers no parallels to the treatment of the panther's tail nor to the spreading lines of its face. More important still, there is no hint in his work of the monumentality of conception and the innate fluidity which characterizes the Heidelberg drawing.⁵

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⁵ Cf. *Record* 16, 7 n.3.



BOOK REVIEWS

Authors and publishers are respectfully requested to note that all books for review must be sent directly to the review editors: for Old World archaeology to Miss Dorothy K. Hill, The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore 1, Md.; for New World archaeology to Dr. Richard B. Woodbury, Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona. The review editors will be glad to receive any suggestions from authors as to names of possible reviewers. Under no circumstances should a book be sent to a specific reviewer.

THE EXCAVATIONS AT MAHESHWAR AND NAVDATOLI 1952-53, by H. D. Sankalia, B. Subbarao and S. B. Deo (Deccan College Research Institute and M. S. University Publication, No. 1). Pp. 257, ill., maps, pls., charts. Poona and Baroda, 1958.

The publication reviewed here deals with the excavations carried out at the important sites of Maheshwar and Navdatoli on the banks of the Narbada River in Central India.

The study consists of a preface, fourteen chapters and two appendices. In the preface the aims of the excavations as well as the organizational framework of the investigations are stated. The excavations were inspired by a "... persistent tradition about the puranic age of Maheshwar" (p. ix). The work was carried out jointly by the Universities of Bombay, Baroda and Poona.

Chapter I deals with the antiquity of Maheshwar and Navdatoli. The exact locations of the sites on opposite banks of the Narbada River are given. It is stated that Navdatoli appears to have been the more important settlement of the two from about 1500 B.C. to the beginning of the Christian era when it was completely wiped out by a catastrophic flood. The antiquity of Maheshwar proper is suggested by ancient sources. The authors present an exhaustive and valuable discussion of these references.

With chapter II begins the discussion of the excavations and their results. The organization of this lengthy report leaves something to be desired. Throughout the study the two sites are dealt with as a unit. The authors rationalize this procedure as follows: "Since excavations were carried out in both the areas on either bank of the Narmada, for purposes of convenience and precision, the results are treated together as there is a fine overlapping of the different cultural phases in both the areas. . . ." (p. 16). As a matter of fact, instead of making for precision this method of presentation is very confusing if only because of the simultaneous treatment of the sites. Moreover, the unsuspecting reader suddenly learns of a series of further mounds which apparently are considered to be constituent parts of the principal mound of Maheshwar. Of these, mounds I, II, and V were excavated. At Navdatoli too, several constituent sites were discovered. These were numbered in the same way as their counterparts at Maheshwar; here (at Navdatoli) mounds I, II, and III

were excavated. The infinite possibilities for confusion are already quite apparent. The authors, however, instead of discussing each of these mounds separately and coordinating the results in the end, now proceed to discuss the material by periods. Even these discussions do not follow an orderly scheme; they are frequently interrupted by descriptions and discussions of the individual trenches. The headings of sub-sections and sub-sub-sections form an endless string of chaotically assembled topics. To carry this "system" to its ultimate apotheosis of confusion, the authors have occasionally stuck in sections dealing with structures encountered in individual trenches. The organization of the report lacks unity.

Chapters III to XIV deal with the finds, grouped under the headings of *Lithic Industry of Period II, Blade Industry of Period III, Coins, Pottery of Period III, Pottery of Periods IV to VII, Beads, Terracotta Objects, Metal Objects, Glass Objects, Objects of Bone, Ivory, Steatite and Shell, Stone Objects, and Contacts and Co-relations* (sic).

The authors have been able to identify seven periods. Period I, characterized by a Lower Palaeolithic industry with Abbevillian and Acheulian handaxes, was not found at the actual sites but on the terraces flanking the Narbada River in the neighbourhood of Maheshwar and Navdatoli.

Period II, exemplified by a so-called Middle Stone Age industry, has been tentatively "... dated at least to the Upper Pleistocene period" (p. 38), because of associated finds of *Bos namadicus* (Falc.). The stone industry is characterized by a series of flake tools including flakes with faceted striking platforms, borers, burins on flakes, end-scrapers on flakes, and rather crude cores. True blades apparently are absent. The illustrated small fluted core (Fig. T, facing p. 39) looks strange in this series. Most of the artifacts were collected from the surface; only a few were found at the base of the Maheshwar mound.

Period III, the Proto-historic period, was identified at both sites. It yielded a highly evolved blade industry including some geometric microliths, very few scrapers, cylindrical and pyramidal cores. Burins are conspicuous by their absence.

Seemingly for no good reason the discussion of the sequence at this point is interrupted by a chapter (V) on coins. The main thread is taken up again in chapter VI with a discussion of the pottery of Period III. Two major classes of painted ceramics could be dis-

tinguished. The former is called Maheshwar Painted Red Ware, the latter Jorwe-Nevasa Painted Red Ware, because it seems identical with the ceramics found at Jorwe-Nevasa I. On the basis of internal evidence the authors tentatively conclude that "... this culture does not seem to end abruptly, but it gradually disappears in the succeeding Early Historic Period with an overlap" (p. 21). They tentatively date its terminal phase from the first half of the first millennium B.C. A radio-carbon date suggests a terminal date of circa 1000 B.C.

Period IV, confusingly double-named Early Historic Period I, can be dated by the occurrence of the Northern Black Polished Ware (NBP) and because of several early cast and punch-marked coins. Both sites yielded remains of this phase. Epigraphic evidence on bricks and coins indicates that 100 B.C. should be a rough terminal date for Period IV. With it ends the pre-Islamic occupation of Navdatoli. The sequence now shifts to Maheshwar exclusively.

Period V, or Early Historic Period II, is a transitional phase dated from between 100 B.C. and A.D. 100. It is characterized by the disappearance of pottery forms typical of Period IV.

Period VI, or Early Historic Period III, dated from between A.D. 100 and 500, yielded large quantities of Red Polished Ware. The chronology for this phase has been derived through cross-dating the pottery with that of the Gangetic Valley.

Following Period VI, Maheshwar too, appears to have been abandoned. The evidence of coins and glazed ceramics indicates that Period VII, represented again at both sites, dates from the late Muslim-Maratha period.

With exception of the coins affording important chronological evidence, the small finds from Maheshwar and Navdatoli are not spectacular. They include a variety of beads, glass armlets, a few rather fragmentary terracotta figurines, and some copper and iron objects such as chisels, hooks, finger rings, arrowheads, sickles and nails. In addition saddle querns, hammers and anvils, all made of stone, should be noted.

In the concluding chapter the authors cautiously attempt to place the sequence of Maheshwar and Navdatoli into a wider prehistoric framework. Quite clearly the crucial phase of the sequence is the proto-historic one. Whence do this and related assemblages originate? The authors note that the blade industry and certain pottery forms, notably the channel-spouted cup and certain conoid cups, are curiously reminiscent of Western Asia, especially Iran. This suggests that the whole complex, which in its broader setting seems to be quite late, may have been derived at a relatively late date from Western Asia rather than from the proto-historic Indus Valley cultures. This is a very interesting line of reasoning which may hold much promise for future researchers. Yet, the authors themselves point out how very tentative these speculations are, mainly because of the tantalizing gaps in our knowledge of India's remote past.

The study reviewed here represents a very valuable contribution to Indian archaeology. The authors must be highly commended for their painstaking labors, the excellent and abundant illustrations, and for the completeness of the data they have presented. There only remains the regret that such a splendid study is marred by such poor organization.

OLAF H. PRUFER

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DIVERSES RECHERCHES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES EN AFGHANISTAN (1933-1940) par J. Hackin, J. Carl et J. Meunié, avec des études de R. Ghirshman et J. C. Gardin. (Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan, Tome VIII.) Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1959.

This latest edition to the series of volumes published by the French archaeological mission in Afghanistan presents a selection of reports of excavations conducted from 1933 until the outbreak of the World War. It is in a sense a supplement to Hackin's *Oeuvre de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan, 1922-1932* (Tokyo, Maison franco-japonaise, 1933). This present work is made up of records of work at many sites, no one of which was extensive enough for publication in a separate volume. These chapters are based on notes left behind by Joseph Hackin, his wife Ria Hackin, J. Carl, and J. Meunié. In many cases the documentation is not all that could have been hoped for. But with the death of the principals involved and the abandonment of work at most of the sites investigated these often scanty notes are all that are available to us.

The first chapter deals with investigations of some of the more inaccessible caves at Bāmiyān conducted by Hackin and his staff after the publication of the last complete volume dedicated to this site.¹ There are descriptions of the fragments of sculpture and painting found in Cave J, but unfortunately there are neither diagrams nor photographs to give us any idea of the appearance of either the statuary or the wall-painting. In the grottos of Group K, located 75 feet above the valley floor, Hackin noted a painting of Maitreya which, judging from the sketch provided as illustration, is remarkably close in style to the wall-paintings in the valley of Kakrak. It is unfortunate that neither drawings nor photographs of any kind were taken of the paintings of the Nirvāna, which the investigators found in Groups J and K, since the iconography and composition would obviously provide us a prototype for the treatment of the Buddha's demise in Central Asia and the Far East.

One of the most interesting chapters in this book deals with the site of Tepe Marandjan, just to the east of Kabul. The most interesting objects discovered at

¹J. Hackin and others, *Nouvelles recherches à Bāmiyān* (Paris 1933).

this Buddhist monastery were two statues of Bodhisattvas, which at the time of the discovery were in a completely pristine state, even to the polychromatic decoration of the statues and the niches they occupied. This site can apparently be dated in the 4th century by a deposit of the coins of the Sasanian kings, Shāpur II and III and Ardashir II. An interesting feature of this complex which is not discussed in the text is the brick barrel vaults built in a fashion suggestive of construction in Iran of the Sasanian Period.

The next section of the publication is devoted to an account of the rather cursory excavations conducted at the Saka fort on a promontory at the entrance to the Logar Valley. The finds included a number of bronzes of the Indo-Greek king Hermaeus, which may or may not have a bearing on the dating of the structure. The building seems to be a combination of local construction technique with some Persian influence, notably in the lancet openings, for which parallels exist in Parthian Iran.

The short chapter contributed by Hackin on his investigations at Kunduz, to the east of Balkh, is interesting chiefly for his publication of a number of stucco heads completely similar to the well-known examples from Hadda, Peshawar, and Taxila, and clearly demonstrating the extension of the Gandhara school of sculpture to Bactria itself. There is no mention in Hackin's account of the interesting Ionic column bases noted at this site by Barger and Wright.²

There follow a number of short notes on archaeological reconnaissances by Hackin, Gardin, and Ghirshman in the Afghan part of Seistan. Of these the most interesting is the chapter by Ghirshman on the site of Nad-i-Ali, which yielded samples of pottery and other artifacts of the first millennium B.C. that may be of considerable importance as links in the connection between Mesopotamia and the Indus civilization. A separate chapter deals with the Islamic remains at Lashkari Bazar in Seistan, a once prosperous culture laid in ruins by Tamerlane. The ruins of the massive forts and walls have a singular grandeur and are of particular interest for their perpetuation of the plans and elevations of typical forms of Sasanian architecture.

One of the most important and interesting sections in the book is Hackin's account of the excavations conducted at Fondukistan in 1937.³ The remarkable sculpture and painting at this site may be dated as late as the 7th century by numismatic evidence, which is supported by the style of the objects discovered. Fondukistan looms as a site of considerable importance as a transition from Indian art to Central Asian art. Much of the sculpture reveals the sensuality and precious refinement of the Gupta tradition, although the sculpture already suggests something of the rather dry quality that we associate with the later Buddhist art of the Pāla Period. Whereas some of the sculpture and paintings at this site are clearly reminiscent of Ajantā, there are other figures both sculptured and painted that

have something of the decorative and heraldic character of Iranian art of the Sasanian Period.

Four short chapters on Begram, contributed by Carl and Meunié, describe the excavations at this site exclusive of the spectacular treasure trove which had already been the subject of detailed publication by the French mission. The finds of greatest interest described in these sections are the fragments of terracotta sculpture of local manufacture, the primitive simplicity of which is in marked contrast to the luxury and elegance of the imported objects.

The book closes with a short chapter by Meunié on the stupa and its relics, excavated by him at Qoli-Nader, and a catalogue by J. Carl of the objects brought to light at the Buddhist monastery of Teppe Kalan.

The reasons for the shortcomings of this book have been discussed above, but it should be pointed out that, for all their incompleteness and incomplete presentation of the material, many of the chapters in the work, notably those on Teppe Marandjan and Fondukistan, are still of extraordinary interest for the publication of important and aesthetically moving examples of hitherto unknown aspects of Indo-Roman and Indo-Iranian art forms on the road to Central Asia. The book in a way is a final memorial to Hackin and his associates, pioneers in the archaeological discovery of Afghanistan that has so greatly enlarged our horizons of this meeting-ground of Hellenistic, Iranian, and Roman traditions of art.

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ÄLTERE EISENZEIT DER SCHWEIZ, Kanton Bern, I. Teil, by *Walter Drack*. Materialhefte zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Schweiz. Herausgegeben von der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Urgeschichte. Heft 1. Birkhäuser Verlag Basel 1958. Pp. 32, text figs. 15, pls. with drawings 26, half-tone pls. 8, map. 29.7 x 20.7 cm. Sw.Fr. 17.50.

ÄLTERE EISENZEIT DER SCHWEIZ, Kanton Bern, II. Teil, by *Walter Drack*. Materialhefte zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Schweiz. Herausgegeben von der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Urgeschichte. Heft 2. Birkhäuser Verlag Basel 1959. Pp. 29, text figs. 13, pls. with drawings 14, half-tone pls. 11, map. 29.7 x 20.7 cm.

Since 1958 the *Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Urgeschichte* has been publishing a new series under the title *Materialhefte zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Schweiz*. These monographs offer a thorough documentation of the archaeological material found in the excavations of cemeteries and of settlements. According

² E. Barger and P. Wright, *Explorations of the Oxus Territories in Afghanistan* (Archaeological Survey of India, *Memoirs*, no. 64).

³ See also Hackin's report, "Les travaux de la délégation archéologique en Afghanistan," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 12:1.

to the plans of the editors, all finds of the Hallstatt Culture in Switzerland will be presented in twelve parts. The first two numbers of this series have appeared. These constitute a model in editing, printing and in the quality of illustrations. The complete picture material is combined with a detailed description of all objects. Within the section of each site, we can find a descriptive part and a catalog of finds.

The first number contains the findings from the tumuli of fifteen sites lying to the west of the Aare and of the city of Bern. The best known localities of this area are Grossholz near Ins with its rich wagon graves and Allenlütten with its gold finds.

The second part deals with the finds and sites located east of the Aare as far as Burgdorf and with those of the Aare valley between Thun and Bern. Twenty-three sites are treated in detail. The most important ones are Bärswil, Grächwil, Jegenstorf, Kosthofen and Urtenen.

Where it seemed necessary, an attempt was made to compare the material in the museums with old excavation reports.

The Early Iron Age of Switzerland is dated to the period between the middle of the eighth and the middle of the fifth centuries. The relative chronology is based on the works of P. Reinecke, H. Zürn and G. Kossack, and is indicated on a separate table in each part of the series.

Scholars will be delighted to find this abundant material for the study of the Swiss Hallstatt Culture. After the publication of the cemetery of Hallstatt by K. Kromer and of the work *Südbayern während der Hallstattzeit* by G. Kossack, these monographs will fill a gap in Central European Hallstatt research.

The competence of the author is attested by numerous papers. Not many institutions can afford such a complete publication of excavated material. No doubt, this series will serve for a long time as a magnificent collection of the archaeological remains of Switzerland's Early Iron Age. One looks forward to the publication of the third part of Dr. Drack's study.

STEPHEN FOLTINY

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MIT RAHINEH 1955, by *Rudolf Anthes*, with contributions by *Hasan S. K. Bakry*, *John Dimick*, *Henry G. Fischer*, *Labib Habashi*, *Jean Jacquet* (Museum Monographs). Pp. v + 93, figs. 18, pls. 45, separate folding map. The University Museum, Philadelphia, 1959.

In this exemplary report Dr. Anthes presents the first of three seasons of excavation, conducted under his direction by the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania in collaboration with the Department of Antiquities of Egypt.

Ancient Memphis lies in the intensively cultivated and thickly populated Nile Valley about twelve miles

south of Cairo and west of the river. Its fabulous cemeteries along the edge of the Libyan desert and their few surviving contents are practically the only material remains from the golden age of Memphis during the third millennium. The ancient city is completely lost under cultivation except at the modern village of Mit Rahineh. Here low mounds reveal traces of an acropolis, raised in brickwork above the surrounding valley floor, and about four hundred meters to its south the great enclosure of the temple of Ptah.

Very little systematic excavation had been undertaken at Mit Rahineh. Petrie explored various spots in the acropolis area and in the temenos of Ptah (1909-13). The University Museum's former excavations at the site (1915-19 and 1921-23), directed by C. S. Fisher and unfortunately never published, were confined to the thorough uncovering and recording of the Palace of Merenptah, east of the southern boundary of the great temple area. Although a Middle Kingdom cemetery was accidentally found during road work on slightly higher ground (pp. 65, 83), no building earlier than Sety I has been discovered at Mit Rahineh, since the level of the ground water has so far prevented digging any lower than the Ramessid floor. This was not only Anthes' experience but also Petrie's (see Anthes' observation in *UPMB* June 1957, p. 11). The site is rapidly deteriorating while its fertility makes it liable to release for agriculture if archaeologically unproductive. Almost everything above ground level has disappeared, and the ancient structures of unbaked brick between ground level and water level are almost indistinguishable from the soil out of which they were made. In 1955 the excavators faced an urgent and challenging but unpromising and extremely difficult task.

Dr. Anthes chose a spot at the southwest angle of the great temenos wall, where several apparently unrelated structures were already known to exist. They had not been systematically studied or published, and their relations to each other and to the great wall seemed to promise interesting problems, the more so because they had been accidentally discovered. Among these buildings was a small sanctuary of Ramesses II, which lay close to the outer face of the south side of the great wall and which furnished the starting point for the chronology of the site. The excavators found that the wall cut off the north side of the temple to which the sanctuary had belonged but that the latter apparently continued to be respected. They explored the south side of the temple to determine its plan and, less extensively, the south side of a Ramesses II gate to the west, also cut by the wall. (The following season this gate was found to be a pylon of the temple, *UPMB* June 1957, p. 4.) The exterior southwest angle of the temenos wall was cleared for the first time and a cut was made through its south side. The date of this great brick wall remained the central problem of the excavators. Some rather tenuous inferences involving a chapel of Sety I and a stele of Merenptah, found accidentally in 1948 just north of Dr. Anthes' excavations, suggested that the wall might be as early as the reign

of Merenptah. Two small intrusive tombs, both probably of the 21st Dynasty and one of them intact, were built into a minor east-west brick wall south of the sanctuary. A number of small brick structures, some identified as workshops, were found immediately south of this wall and similar structures, presumably of a later date when the sanctuary was no longer in use, were found within and in front of the latter. Overlying these structures were the remains of dwellings belonging to a period later than the destruction of the upper courses of the sanctuary, which perhaps took place at the beginning of the 26th Dynasty.

Finds were recorded according to a horizontal grid system and depth in meters. Basing his inferences on the interrelationships of the various architectural data (presented by M. Jacquet) and on analysis of the small finds, Dr. Anthes cautiously suggests that the temenos wall was built some time between the beginning of the reign of Merenptah and the end of the 21st Dynasty. That this tentative dating proved during the following season to be untenable (*UPMB* June 1957, pp. 7-8), and that the positive results of the season's work were not spectacular, does not detract from the considerable scientific value of the report.

A very useful supplement, in keeping with Dr. Anthes' aim to contribute towards the urgently needed general pattern of Ramessid Memphis, is the general survey map of Mit Rahineh. This was drawn up by Mr. Dimick, who also investigated the Embalming House of the Apis Bulls, lying about fifty meters north of the main excavated area. The map is intended to inspire future excavators to take up the challenge. In this age of technology an increasingly clear plan of the Ramessid remains may form the basis for direct archaeological knowledge of the earlier and greater city, traces of which may await exploration by means of techniques yet to be invented.

Quite apart from the main purpose of the excavations, this report will be welcomed by many whose work involves the identification of objects of unknown provenance. In particular Dr. Fischer's sections on the pottery and on the interesting jewelry and other objects from the intact tomb are admirably presented and contain much useful material, for example, the identification of a peculiar type of pottery object, called at Beisan "cult object," as a "fire-dog" (pp. 34-40).

WINIFRED NEEDLER

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THE SCEPTER OF EGYPT: A BACKGROUND FOR THE STUDY OF THE EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART. PART II: THE HYKSOB PERIOD AND THE NEW KINGDOM (1675-1080), by *William C. Hayes*. Pp. 496, ills. 275, one map. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1959. \$15.00.

This is the sequel to *Scepter of Egypt, Part I*, which appeared in 1953. Laid out on the pattern of Part I, it exhibits all the virtues of the earlier volume. One does not know what to admire most: the excellent historical summaries, the detailed descriptions and discussions of works of art, or the skill with which history, archaeology, and aesthetic appreciation are blended into a consistently interesting narrative. The book is organized in such a way that each section begins with a summary of historical events and proceeds to a detailed discussion of the arts and crafts of the period, with objects from the museum's collection singled out for analysis and used as focal points around which related materials are grouped. As indicated in the title, the volume covers the Hyksos period and the New Kingdom, and, naturally, the 18th dynasty, Egypt's golden age, holds the center of the stage. Like its predecessor, the scope of this volume goes much beyond that of a guide to the Egyptian collection of the Metropolitan Museum and approaches that of a monumental cultural history of ancient Egypt. Dr. Hayes' erudition is formidable, but he carries his scholarship gracefully, and whether he discusses cosmetic vessels or the intricacies of the Thutmosid succession his account is always penetrating and lively. Profusely illustrated, the book is rounded out by a useful chronological table, a map, an excellent bibliography, and generous indexes. Altogether, the book is a pleasure to read and a joy to own.

Dr. Hayes' historical introductions are spiced with personal judgments, not all of which are shared by this reviewer. Thus, Queen Hatshepsut's usurpation of the throne is seen by him as the deed of a vain, ambitious, and unscrupulous woman, while to me it appears as the admirably high-spirited action of an outstanding early feminist. Such judgments are, of course, no more than matters of personal taste. Here and there the author's enthusiasm for a particular theory or reconstruction of events has led to the omission of a qualifying "perhaps" or "apparently," with the result that a piece of historical speculation is given the appearance of established fact. Thus, reference is made to Akhnaton's "relapse into orthodoxy" as if it were a known fact rather than a bit of fancy, current in contemporary writing and, to my mind at least, quite implausible. Similarly, Ay's marriage to Ankhesenamun is not so much a fact as a matter of dispute in which scholars are divided in two camps. But these are mere quibbles. In conclusion it should be said that the book's first purpose, that of being a guide to the Egyptian collection of the Metropolitan Museum, is exceedingly well served, and the collection is greatly enhanced by being so admirably presented and interpreted. One looks forward with eager anticipation to the concluding Part III.

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MYRTOU-PIGADHES. A LATE BRONZE AGE SANCTUARY IN CYPRUS, by *Joan du Plat Taylor, F.S.A.*, with contributions by others. 4°, pp. 118, text figs. 37, pls. 7. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1957. 50s.

The study of the archaeology of Cyprus has been much hampered by the lack of excavations of dwelling sites of the Bronze and Iron Ages. This has been partly rectified, so far as the Late Bronze Age is concerned, by the great work of Professor C. F. A. Schaeffer and Dr. P. Dikaios at Enkomi, the publication of which is now in progress. The Swedish excavations at Nitovikla were important but limited in scope, and the American work at Curium, like the rest of the activities of that undertaking at Lapithos, largely remains unpublished. Other investigations have been on too small a scale, and too often inadequately published, to be a valid foundation for deductions or even the erection of a pottery sequence.

Unfortunately, both of these objections apply to the present publication, though it must be admitted that the failure of the University of Sydney to honour its final moral obligations has contributed to part of this result. The field work was meticulous and in the best tradition of modern archaeology, but the handling of the finds in the book is totally inadequate, and in some cases just bad. Miss Taylor has done as good a job as could be expected under adverse circumstances and is to be congratulated on the promptitude of publication. But if Near Eastern archaeology is to progress we must have fuller access to the finds in the final reports, no matter what the cost to the buyer of books may be.

Miss Taylor has distinguished eight principal periods of occupation:

Period I	M.C. III	Late 17th Century B.C.
II A-B	L.C. I	15th Century B.C.
III	L.C. II	ca. 1400 B.C.
IV	L.C. II	14th Century B.C.
V	L.C. IIc	ca. 1300 B.C.
VI	L.C. II-III	13th-12th Centuries B.C.
VII	L.C. III	ca. 1175 B.C.
VIII	C.G. II-III	10th-8th Centuries B.C.

From this it will be seen that Pigadhes is essentially a site of the Late Bronze Age. The picture—and some of the usefulness of the excavations—has clearly been obscured by disturbance, and the restricted nature of the work did not permit of any correction. This was particularly clearly shown by Mr. Catling's distribution chart of pottery, which Miss Taylor wisely did not print. Another unfortunate factor has been the failure of the excavator to publish, as yet, the parallel excavations of the neighbouring cemetery at Stephanía, due again to past difficulties at the University of Sydney. Here three sub-periods of Late Cypriot I, earlier than anything isolated by Sjöqvist, have been distinguished and are known collectively as the Stephanía phase in our teaching at Sydney. Yet another unfortunate factor is that Paul Åström's ex-

cellent, if incomplete and rather difficult, book on *The Middle Cypriot Bronze Age* was not available when *Pigadhes* was in preparation. So, clearly, Miss Taylor and her collaborators have had much to contend with.

In discussing the chronology of the site an initial difficulty is that cross-referencing to the chapter on pottery often shows discrepancies in the limits of occurrence of types. Thus, forms 91 and 101, quoted as being found in Period I, are recorded only for Periods III-VII and III-V.

The pottery of Period I seems to show a Middle Cypriot appearance, but 69 is W.P.V and 68 could be W.P.VI, though the profile is more like V. 91, a true Apliki Ware shape, seems strangely out of context. 101 represents a development of a shape which probably appeared in Middle Cypriot III, and the ware is not Apliki but a new fabric which occurs in two main varieties at Stephanía during the Stephanía phase, but never later. There is thus some reason to consider the dating of Period I as too early, and to suggest that, in fact, it belongs to the beginning of Late Cypriot I (Stephanía phase), where all the pottery, apart from 91, would be at home.

Period II is divided into two phases. The pottery suggests a Stephanía phase date for IIA, not later than ca. 1550 B.C., whereas Miss Taylor's date in the 15th century B.C. for IIB is perfectly acceptable. There seems to be a gap in the record of occupation in the excavated areas, but they are too restricted for anyone to claim that the site was temporarily deserted.

Period III, which contains the first coherent building plans, may have started a little before 1400 B.C., in the transitional phase between Late Cypriot I and II, which must be removed mainly from the end of Sjöqvist's Late Cypriot I but partly also from the beginning of Late Cypriot II. Its duration cannot be judged from the published evidence.

Period IV rests in chronological obscurity, but the excavator's date in the 14th century B.C. seems reasonable in the light of the construction of the sanctuary court in Period V at about 1300 B.C., which, however, may be rather too high. Period VI, the richest for Bronze Age finds, especially bronzes, must clearly have the life allotted to it, but many of the objects seem to belong to Late Cypriot III rather than to Late Cypriot II, as one would expect if the shrine was properly maintained, although this is contrary to Miss Taylor's opinion. The date given for the destruction of the sanctuary at ca. 1175 B.C. cannot be far wrong. It may be worth remarking that the Mycenaean crater, 191 (P 360) is not likely to be earlier than 1200-1190 B.C.

The Geometric re-occupation must have started in Cypro-Geometric I rather than II, and perhaps even before this (e.g. the bowl, 387) in a tentative way. The offering stand, 472, is good Late Cypriot III Decorated Ware of the group under ultimate Mycenaean influence, and may well date to ca. 1175 B.C. rather than later. Miss Taylor has rightly suggested on p. 25 that the deposit of pottery of the Iron Age overlaps into Cypro-Archaic I, but she omits this on p. 116. So we

may, perhaps, suggest that Period VIII lasts from ca. 1050 to some time after 750 B.C.

Throughout the chapter describing the site by periods the most careful attention is paid to stratification and architectural details, these latter of considerable interest in themselves. It is only when one turns to the chapter on the Bronze Age Pottery by Mr. H. W. Catling that the shakiness of the stratification becomes apparent. The chapter is thoroughly exasperating as Catling was obviously not well enough acquainted with Cypriot pottery at the time and has failed to make an adequate classification of the material. To a great extent this is retrieved by the excellent sets of drawings.

The Red Polished Ware is presumably the horrible fabric found at Stephanina in Middle Cypriot III and the Stephanina phase of Late Cypriot I. At present it has been catalogued as R.P.IV, but this will not do and it might be better to call it R.P.V. The late occurrences listed by Catling are a surprise, and in the light of the excavations at Kouklia may not be entirely due to disturbances, though that is to be expected.

The Black Slip Ware is mostly B.S.II and the later continuation of that fabric which is found in Late Cypriot I. B.S.III seems rare, but the magnificent juglet, 26, is a demonstration of the ceramic unreliability of the stratification, since it comes from Period VI; the type, rare outside Stephanina, is common there but confined to the Stephanina phase of Late Cypriot I. It should be noted in this context that Catling's references to Stephanina are very incomplete. The sherd, 48, of Black Slip II (Reserved Slip) Ware is interesting; this ware comes into use late in Middle Cypriot III and continues into Late Cypriot I, so that this piece is also probably out of its horizon. Its importance is that it is wheel-made, but since wheel-made B.S. ware may occur by the end of Middle Cypriot III we need not be surprised. It is interesting to see how many of the wares which come into use at the end of Middle Cypriot III have wheel-made counterparts.

The Red Slip shapes add considerably to the repertory of this, as yet, badly studied pottery. At Stephanina the Red Slip Wheel-made (Decorated) Ware is rare and confined to the end of the Stephanina phase, much earlier than its recorded occurrence at Pigadhes, where the parallel hand-made pottery seems to be absent.

Red-on-Black Ware is understandably rare, as it was at Stephanina also. The heyday of this pottery seems to have been late Middle Cypriot III and the beginning of Late Cypriot I, so here again the sherd has no stratigraphical significance.

The White Painted III Ware is wrongly classified, as reference to Åström shows, but this is perfectly understandable. Some pieces have been commented on above. The later W. P. Ware remains to be worked out, as no doubt will be done by Schaeffer and Dikaios; probably several different fabrics are involved.

Monochrome Ware is surprisingly rare in view of its comparative frequency at Stephanina. The chronological range given by Sjöqvist certainly needs revision, and it is likely that true Monochrome Ware has been confused in the Swedish publications with other pottery.

The only necessary comments on Apliki Ware have already been made. Now that we know that this is widely spread, it stands in need of a further study.

The isolation of Cooking Pot Ware is a valuable step and lays the foundations on which a future study can be built. It seems to be a curiously uncommon pottery.

Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware is understandably rare, but it was not common at Stephanina. It is hard to be certain that it was an import into Cyprus in view of its wide distribution in the Levant. Clearly it is a development from an Egyptian ware of the early 18th Dynasty with a 17th Dynasty antecedent, but certain shapes had a vogue outside Egypt and, perhaps, we should envisage several centers of manufacture in Western Asia as well as in Egypt. A full study of the whole group, instead of the partial account given by Sjöqvist, is urgently needed, not only as a matter of historical interest but also because the chronology, as at present defined, seems unsatisfactory.

The same may be said of White Shaved Ware, which is even rarer at Stephanina. The initial date given by Sjöqvist in Late Cypriot IA (i.e. 1550-1450 B.C.) looks too high.

The treatment of Base-Ring Ware is disappointing, but the quantity seems small in comparison with the richness of Stephanina. It is hard to believe that no differentiation between B.R.I and II on grounds of fabric could be observed, but Catling has correctly attributed all the illustrated pieces, of which 154 and 155 are excellent examples of Late Cypriot III types.

Bucchero Ware is another pottery which badly needs restudy, for its first appearance may be dated too early. Catling makes the interesting suggestion that it may be misleading to separate it from B.R. Ware and in this context it may be worth noting that a few sherds of B.R.II bowls with vertical fluted decoration (not ribbed) are known.

The White Slip Ware is undistinguished and cannot be compared with the spectacular quantity from Stephanina. What Catling calls White Slip Ia is known to us as White Slip I (Bichrome), but this only covers a decoration in red and brown or black; White Slip I (Red), which has the decoration in red only, seems to be absent from Pigadhes. At Stephanina both these varieties of the ware are early (Stephanina phase), and the reviewer feels that the recorded contexts at Pigadhes are contaminated, as clearly is so much of the pottery.

The Mycenaean pottery gives a much stronger view of the importance of Pigadhes than Catling grants. It may be rare, but it is varied and there are some good pieces, one of which, 191, has already been remarked upon. The reviewer finds it hard to see why the bowls, 210-213, and the fruit stand, 472, are not classed outright as Decorated Late Cypriot III Ware, which admittedly needs reclassification. What Catling regards as the true Decorated Late Cypriot III Ware seems to occur with his Mycenaean B fabric at Asproye, near Kouklia, and the two fabrics appear to be variations, the one of the other, possibly even due only to different shops. In any case, Sjöqvist's term Sub-Mycenaean seems

more appropriate to this group than Furumark's Decorated Late Cypriot III, which is better reserved for a distinctive series of painted bowls and jugs which do not rely for decoration solely on horizontal bands.

The section on Plain White Ware is the best in the chapter. It seems a little premature to derive the Hooked Rim bowls from the Syro-Palestinian Middle Bronze II series at this stage of our knowledge, for other origins are equally possible. However, judgment on this and other similar comments must be reserved. It is a pity that it was impossible to mend and draw all the store-jars in Sydney in time for the publication.

There is no discussion of Bichrome Wheel-made Ware, variously referred to in the book as Syrian and Palestinian. In view of the discovery of a parallel hand-made ware at Stephanía, some more details of the position at Pigadhes would have been useful. All that can be said at the moment is that this ware seems to belong to the Stephanía phase (ca. 1600-1550 B.C.) and perhaps the earlier part of it; to have been made in most cases in Cyprus and exported thence to Western Asia and Egypt; to have had a short life in its most typical form, and not the long range of a century usually envisaged.

The Iron Age pottery is fully described and well illustrated by Miss Taylor and Lord William Taylour. Some chronological remarks have been made above, and all one can say is that a deposit of this nature is interesting only on account of the pottery which has to stand on its own merits.

Lamps and miscellaneous objects are dealt with by Miss Seton-Williams and do not call for comment. The same applies to the dreary collection of terracotta and limestone figurines about which Mr. Birmingham writes; these, however, have an historical and archaeological value far beyond their intrinsic worth.

Mr. Catling's account of the metal finds is all too summary and insufficiently illustrated with photographs for such important material, which, on its own, justified the excavations. The magnificent hoard of tripods and ring-stands is quite sensational in Cypriot archaeology and one can only regret the lack of precision in dating. The objects might belong to Late Cypriot II, but Late Cypriot III seems a more likely horizon.

The seals and an amulet with a cartouche of Ramesses II are described by Mr. Buchanan, the Cypriot inscriptions by Miss Taylor. Professor Zeuner and Ian Cornwall discuss the animal remains and soil samples with their usual competence. The identification of the presumably domesticated screw-horned goat is an interesting addition to our knowledge, especially as the remains are as early as the 14th century B.C.

The chapter on the Sanctuary might well have been omitted in favour of greater detail in the description of the finds, and published elsewhere as a separate paper.

The summary of Chronological Conclusions contains some factual errors and some misunderstandings. Suggested alterations to the picture have been outlined already. The most useful part of the Chapter is the reconsideration of the position at Aya Irini in Periods I-II.

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THE GREAT CENTURIES OF PAINTING. GREEK PAINTING, text by *Martin Robertson*. Albert Skira, New York, 1959. \$25.

"The most comprehensive collection of color reproductions ever gathered together" says the "blurb" on the dust jacket of this beautiful book. And though this is meant to apply to the whole series of the Skira volumes, it is particularly appropriate in this case. We have in the past been hesitant to use color in our reproductions of Greek vases, for there is after all a sameness in their reds and blacks. This new presentation, however, with its 100 color plates shows the variety achieved and the aesthetic enjoyment that can be derived therefrom. The illustrations have indeed been judiciously selected, including many paintings on white-ground vases, with brilliant reds, blues, and yellows preserved; and they are fortunately of the first order. Fortunate also was the choice of so experienced a scholar as Martin Robertson for the writing of the text.

Of all the books on ancient painting in the series that have so far appeared—Prehistoric, Egyptian, Etruscan, Roman—the analysis and interpretation of the Greek is of course the most difficult, for the well-known reason that Greek painting, that is mural and panel, has practically disappeared. One has to reconstruct this once major art from the descriptions and comments of ancient writers, from contemporary vase-paintings, and from related material—all admittedly inadequate for a proper visualization.

Mr. Robertson has admirably acquitted himself of this difficult task. His scheme has been to select for each period a few masterpieces, mostly of vase-paintings, and to describe them against the background of their time, showing how each stage evolved from the preceding. The story, therefore, is continuous and brings before us, not in general terms, but in a series of concrete examples, the revolution that Greece effected in representational art. Always before—in the paintings of the cave-dwellers (recently augmented by stupendous examples from the Sahara), in those of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Crete—the figures had been drawn two-dimensionally, flat against a flat background. The development of the third dimension, as it appears in foreshortening and in linear perspective, was achieved step by step by Greece. In the Skira-Robertson book, with its large plates, including many enlarged details, one can visualize, more clearly perhaps than ever before, this epoch-making achievement in its various phases.

Mr. Robertson begins his story with Crete and Mycenae, that is with Greece in the Bronze Age; but that he fully realizes the great gap between Minoan and Greek art is shown in his designating his next chapter "Beginnings of Greek Painting." On controversial questions the author generally steers a conservative and, to the reviewer at least, convincing course. I may quote a few examples. P. 130: "There is no evidence that any vase-painter ever directly copied a wall painting." Greek vase-painting was indeed an independent, orig-

inal art, not reproducing the achievements of the contemporary wall and panel painters, but working in the same general trend, and no doubt often making its own original contribution—as did the graphic artists of later days. P. 175f.: (re Greek and Roman linear perspective) . . . though “many of the lines in the picture recede to a single vanishing point” . . . “always there are intrusive elements that do not conform.” In other words, ancient perspective, as practised by the artists, was always partial. P. 176: “Tha: the mythological scenes set on the walls of Italian houses in the first centuries B.C. and A.D. are of predominantly Greek inspiration is clear. How far any of them can be taken as trustworthy copies of particular masterpieces is much more doubtful.” This seems an eminently fair appraisal. Only occasionally, as in the “truly classical” Theseus (p. 178) can one sense the spirit of the underlying Greek masterpiece.

The recently found colorful vases from Lipari; the assignment of the Centuripe ware to the third century B.C. and its intimate relation to Pompeian paintings; and the recent discoveries of Hellenistic mosaics in Macedonia are all duly brought into the story. Perhaps the important archaic Greek murals from Gordion should also have been mentioned. And may I suggest the possibility of two Euphronioses, since we now have come to know two Epiktetosos? It seems unlikely, to me at least, that so brilliant a vase-painter as Euphronios should later have entirely given up his craft and exclusively confined himself to the making of pots.

Re p. 86: Was not the aryballos also used by women? Cf. Beazley, *BSA* 29 (1927/28) 187 note 5.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER

ROME

A HANDBOOK OF GREEK ART, by *Gisela M. A. Richter*. Pp. vi + 421, figs. 507, pls. 4, end maps. Phaidon Press (distr. in U.S.A. by Doubleday), London and N. Y., 1959. \$7.95.

The need for a contemporary re-working of Fowler and Wheeler's *Handbook of Greek Archaeology* has been often expressed. Essentially, this has now been given us by Miss Richter, whose eminence in the field need not be elaborated in this journal. The excellent photographs also invite comparison with standard picture-books on the subject. It is apparent, then, that this is a basic handbook which everyone who works with, or even likes, Greek art, will want to acquire.

The text follows fairly closely the arrangement of Fowler and Wheeler. It is therefore a pity that space did not permit a re-working of their first chapter (study and progress of archaeology) and that their second chapter, on prehistory, has all but disappeared. Architecture, a chapter contributed by Stevens to the earlier work, is here dealt with by Miss Richter herself; this uninspiring chapter could better have been omitted, since we all have Dinsmoor's book. Sculpture is here broken up into several chapters and considered

in detail, with a new chronological table added by way of appendix. The other greatly enlarged section is, as one might expect, on pottery. All the other chapters in Fowler and Wheeler are represented here, as are some new subjects such as furniture, textiles and glass.

There is a select bibliography, listed by subjects and within subjects chronologically, which unhappily contains misprints and small inaccuracies. Finally, we have a glossary and indices of names and places.

Fowler and Wheeler wrote a handbook of Greek archaeology. Miss Richter, as her title shows, has done one rather of Greek art. This is more than a change in title; it represents a shift in emphasis almost everywhere apparent. Perhaps this is why the chapter on the progress of archaeology has been dropped, and partly explains why prehistory—an important concern of archaeologists—is now so summarily dismissed, although we must admit that the field has grown so enormously in the last fifty years that it now requires a handbook of its own. Quite aside from these considerations, the *Handbook of Greek Archaeology* had a certain earthy and salty Greek atmosphere about it; the *Handbook of Greek Art* wafts us into the filtered air of museums.

The new book does show how very much farther we have moved in these fifty years toward a proper comprehension of Greek art. The advance is seen most profoundly in the chapter on pottery, least in the sections on monumental sculpture and on painting. One would have supposed that Miss Richter might have dispensed, in this book, with the “copies”—the cowering Aphrodites leaning on jugs, the coy youths propped against tree-trunks. These are a proper concern to philologists, antiquarians and, yes, archaeologists, and Miss Richter has elsewhere done much to enlighten us about them. But they do not contribute to our understanding of Greek art, and Lullies has recently shown that Greek sculpture can be studied very well indeed without them. As it is, they could have served a more useful purpose had each copy been set opposite an original Greek work. When this *has* been done, as with the Attic and the Hadrianic caryatids, a most useful lesson in discrimination is provided. I had never been so sure that the bronze Hermes in Boston was not Greek as I was when I saw it here flanked by indubitably Greek bronzes.

Finally, we may ask Miss Richter why every one of these copies is labelled “Roman.” Since we know that much of this copying, or rather adapting, was done by Greeks, we can only suppose that “Roman” here refers to chronology. But if this is so, it is hard to explain how such paintings as the *Odyssey* landscapes, the “Flora” from Stabiae, and the charming detail from *Boscotrecase* “bring us near the Greek.” Yet, though not Greek, these paintings, along with the beautiful head in Bologna, are art, and do much to enhance any study of classical antiquity.

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VOTIVE RELIGION AT CAERE: PROLEGOMENA, by Q. F. Maule and H. R. W. Smith. (University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology, volume 4, no. 1.) Pp. 136, pls. 5, figures in text 8. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1959.

This book, as its odd title attempts to indicate, is an introduction to the study of the terracotta ex-votos from Caere, based on the collection of them in the University of California. But it is also much more, an assortment of pertinent questions and suggestions on the whole subject of votive terracottas in central Italy and their bearing on Etruscan and Italic religion.

By their term "votive religion" the authors mean a "private religion which resorts to temples" (p. 62) and whose interests and character are revealed by the votive offerings. The votive figurines at Caere are all terracottas, and in this, this votive religion followed the general practice of west central Italy from the river Marta to the Liris, including the Faliscan territory, and also the early Latin colonies of Carseoli in Aeolian territory and Luceria in Apulia. This region, in contrast to northern Etruria, where the dedications are almost entirely bronzes, and Umbria and the Sabine territory, where the dedications are also bronzes, though different from those of northern Etruria, seems to have been a single cultural unit, even though its city states were divided politically and linguistically among Etruscan, Faliscan and Latin and were frequently, if not normally, at war through their early history. The authors quote Koch's statement about an *einheitlichen lateinisch-südetruskischen Kultur* (p. 65); the same point was made by Lily Ross Taylor in *Local Cults in Etruria*, and by Riis and Andrén for the art.

It is not, of course, only the fact that southern Etruria and Latium normally used terracotta ex-votos that distinguishes them from northern Etruria and Umbria. Latium, in fact, and Carseoli have produced many bronze votive figures as well. But the character of the terracotta ex-votos is strikingly unlike that of the bronzes, no matter where they come from. As the authors point out (p. 46 n. 85), the bronze figures almost always represent worshippers or priests, whereas the terracottas, from the end of the sixth century to the end of the fourth, almost always represent divinities. I might add to their observations on this point that northern Etruscan votive bronzes do include a few unmistakable figures of divinities; they are rare, almost always unusually handsome, and the earliest examples appear in the third quarter of the sixth century, just about the time when the terracotta divinities first appear in Latium and southern Etruria. (When Varro said that the first statues of gods at Rome were the terracotta image of Jupiter Capitolinus and the Clay Hercules made by Vulca of Veii for Tarquinius Priscus, perhaps he should have said the first representation of gods in central Italy.)

This appearance of divine types among the ex-votos of Caere and other archaic sanctuaries of this region

marks the beginning of a second stage in the history of central Italian votive religion. One of the most useful things in this book is an insistence on clear distinctions among four successive stages of votive practice. The first phase (second half of the seventh century through first half of the sixth: the older *stips* at Satricum and the earliest material from the Lapis Niger) is characterized by miscellaneous offerings with a few standing figures of worshippers. The second (beginning in the sixth century) introduces enthroned divinities, not clearly individualized, but all of them, it is to be noted, goddesses. The third stage (fifth and fourth centuries, "the phase of greatest interest") offers an impressive number of female heads, some of them life size, the enthroned goddesses, now frequently holding children, and numbers of other divinities. This book is particularly concerned with standing figures of Minerva, Mars and Ceres (?) of this stage. And by the fourth century the flood of anatomical parts has begun. To judge from the ex-votos, all the great goddesses of southern Etruria and Latium are concerned with childbirth and healing, but the frequency of male parts among the ex-votos is the only indication that this religion was not entirely in the hands of women. In the fourth stage (third through first centuries?) the divinities retire before the flood of anatomical offerings, models of children, votive heads representing worshippers rather than divinities, and "a new Dionysiac element." That this new element was not merely decorative is shown, the authors argue, by the bacchanalia scandal of 186 B.C. and the probability that Mater Matuta at Satricum was identified with Ino-Leucothea as early as the third century B.C. (pp. 81-82). In this connection I might add that one of the last Etruscan bronze votive types to be created, a togate worshipper with patera and acerra known in countless replicas (cf. D. K. Hill, *Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, pl. 29 nos. 128-30, 132-35, pl. 30 no. 127) has the ivy wreath and long clustering curls of a Hellenistic Bacchus.

This presentation of the four stages of votive practice in central Italy, which indicates not merely stylistic development but change of emphasis, if not outright borrowing from Magna Graecia, shows, as the authors insist, the dangerous limitations of any theory of ancient religion based on origins alone; and the character of the ex-votos does still more. The *de facto* predominance of goddesses, however important the gods may have been in official cult, is quite clear. And the authors argue that a people so attentive to goddesses of child-bearing and healing cannot have been so entirely obsessed by the gloom of death as the Etruscans are commonly supposed to have been, nor so devoted to sexless divinities with agricultural specialities as the official calendar of Rome would indicate the Romans to have been.

Another point, which the authors find somewhat ambivalent, is that the terracotta ex-votos indicate, as Altheim insists, Greek influence in central Italy at an early period. The most archaic seated figure of a divinity at Berkeley is of the late sixth century and appar-

ently a Greek importation from Cumae (p. 107). To Altheim, this seated Greek divinity would be chthonic; but the authors of this book are reluctant to have her so, since they feel, I think quite rightly, that a kourortrophic goddess is more likely not to be connected with the underworld. But the Caeretan figure is a replica of a *funerary* terracotta, and similarly, another apparently early terracotta at Berkeley is a copy of a Greek funerary mask. No such terracottas, however, ever appear in Etruscan or Latin graves, so the authors hold that however chthonic the goddess may have been to the Greeks she was presumably not so to the Etruscans and Latins. Here, however, I would point out another difficulty: except for the seated divinities of Greek type in these southern Etruscan sanctuaries, the only seated figures from Etruria are tomb figures, though almost certainly "portraits" of the dead (deified?) rather than divinities of the underworld. Wouldn't an Etruscan looking at these terracottas be inclined to think of the tomb?

The first chapter treats a series of standing male figures that have been taken by many scholars, among them Riis and Furtwängler, for Gauls. On stylistic grounds Riis dated the earliest of these at the beginning of the fourth century; the authors, though agreeing with his dating, cannot accept the idea that mold-made votive figures of Gauls would be dedicated in a south Etruscan shrine in the early fourth century. And, in fact, analysis of their costume shows that there is nothing unquestionably Gaulish about it: the cuirass is the classical *Muskelpanzer* without lappets, the helmet a pot with a widely separated crest clamp such as appears on many Etruscan bronzes. The shield, however, is not the Etruscan round shield but the Gaulish, or Samnite, or early Italic and eventually Roman *scutum*. The problem is, then, to explain the *scutum* of Caeretan figures of the early fourth century. This the authors have solved admirably by accepting Livy's date for the adoption of the *scutum* by the Roman army in the decade of the siege of Veii and suggest that the very exigencies of such a siege led to the change from the round to the oval shield, which was so much better adapted for making a *testudo*. On this theory Caere, Rome's ally at that time, would have adopted the *scutum* at about the same time as Rome. The authors, having found a few other Etruscan illustrations of the *scutum* on late fifth century *rf.* vases, come to the conclusion that it was current throughout Etruria by the beginning of the fourth century, but these vase illustrations do not seem to show *Etruscans*, though the warriors are certainly not Gauls either, as Beazley supposed. But is there any reason why they cannot be Romans?

This book is full of stimulating questions and conjectures; my only complaint against it is the almost impenetrable convolution of its style. But if more books of this weight were written about aspects of Etruscan

archaeology, the subject would even so be considerably improved.

EMELINE HILL RICHARDSON

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

GREEK AND ROMAN PORTRAITS. 470 B.C.-A.D. 500. Pp. 76, figs. 73. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1959. \$1.50.

This small publication will be very useful since it brings up-to-date the information on a division of the famous Boston collection and publishes or republishes several very fine pieces in other New England museums. There are illustrations of many beautiful pieces, gems and coins as well as major works of art, a brief introduction to the subject, captions, a general bibliography and complete bibliographical notes.

JROTHY KENT HILL

THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

OPUS NOBILE, MEISTERWERKE DER ANTIKEN KUNST. Vols. I-II. Walter Dorn Verlag, Bremen. D.M. 2.40 each.

A handsome new series of publications is now available to the student of classical art and archaeology and the interested reader. Each booklet in the series is small and compact (format: 6 by 8 inches) and, as the subtitle suggests, is devoted to a single "masterpiece" of ancient art, usually a work of sculpture, although vase-painting and numismatics are represented. The quality of the reproductions (6 to 8 plates), including some fine details as well as general views, achieves excellent results after the first two volumes; and the text, printed in large, clear type on fine-quality paper, ranges from fourteen to thirty-six pages. All volumes are published in German with but one exception, that by J. Charbonneaux, which is printed in French.¹ The first three were released in 1957, the others in 1958. Even though the material selected for the series is, in most cases, well known, each issue brings together in one neat, concise "packet" the numerous and widely scattered earlier sources and references which are now reconsidered and re-evaluated in the light of much new information. Happily, each volume carries an adequate and useful bibliography. Since the series is designed primarily for the layman, it is written—in the main—in a popular manner, unburdened with footnotes. This concession in no way detracts from the scholarly soundness of the text. This review will be concerned with the broad purpose of the underwriters, which does not call for detailed criticism. The publications are treated below in the order of their release:

¹ Since this review has gone to press, I have noted that the publishers have made available a German translation for the Charbonneaux volume.

Vol. 1. Vagn Poulsen, *Die Amazone des Kresilas*.

The monograph centers about a marble statue of an Amazon in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen, which serves as the name-piece for the "Sciarras" type (originally in the Palazzo Sciarra, Rome) of which other examples are known (e.g. in New York and Berlin). Attribution of the Copenhagen Amazon (hence more inclusively the Sciarras type) to Kresilas draws one into the age-old problem and the controversies—based on an account of Pliny (*NH* 34.53)—concerning the authorship by eminent fifth-century Greek sculptors of four different types of Amazon statues which have come down to us from Roman imperial copies: the Sciarras type (Copenhagen); the Mattei type (Vatican and the Villa of Hadrian at Tivoli); the Capitoline type (Capitoline Museum, Rome); and the Doria-Pamphili type (Villa Doria Pamphili, Rome). All four types derive from lost originals which belong stylistically to the years 440-430 B.C.

Such scholars as G. Becatti, G. M. A. Richter, and F. Eichler believe the Copenhagen or Sciarras type to be most probably Polykleitos. Poulsen, on the other hand, eliminates Polykleitos, Pheidias, and Phradmon as candidates in favor of Kresilas, on evidence which, in my opinion, may be based on too tenuous grounds; I speak particularly of the stylistic parallels noted by Poulsen between the physiognomy in the head of the Copenhagen Amazon and the head of Perikles in Berlin, the original of which is attributed to Kresilas. It is Miss Richter who, prompted by the discovery of the Austrians at Ephesos of a new and fifth type of Amazon, introduces a fresh note to the much discussed and drawn-out problem (G. M. A. Richter, "Pliny's Five Amazons," *Archaeology* 12 [1959] 112-15). With typical thoroughness, she does not hesitate to return to Pliny to re-interpret his account now that a fifth Amazon type is known. Her clue is philological: where Pliny enumerates the sculptors who took part in the competition, for *Cydonis*, Miss Richter reads "Kydon," a perfectly acceptable Greek name, and not "of Kydonia," the place of origin for Kresilas. Hereby a fifth artist is recognized, an addition which seems to add fuel to an already uncontrolled fire. Not to be totally discounted, however, is the fact that Pliny's statement may be a mere fabrication to explain the existence at Ephesos of Amazons obviously executed by different sculptors but very similar in pose and attitude.

Poulsen correctly assigns the Roman copy to the Julio-Claudian or, at the latest, the Hadrianic period. In view of the incompleteness of data; i.e. that nothing is really known of the styles of Phradmon and Kydon, and so little for that of Kresilas, I join Dr. Eichler and Miss Richter in regarding the problem of attributing the Sciarras or Copenhagen Amazon type—or, for that matter, any of the five types—as unresolved and still open to question.

Vol. 2. Frank Brommer, *Athena Parthenos*.

Brommer presents an especially fine discourse on the Athena Parthenos, a monumental (about twelve

meters high) chryselephantine creation of Pheidias which stood, until the time of Constantine, in the Parthenon where traces of its position can still be seen. The author's point of departure for a study of the celebrated cult statue is the well-known ancient description by Pausanias (1.24.5). There are three stone "copies" (more statuettes than statues) which are crucial to a reconstruction of the original, namely, the Lenormant and Varvakion Athenas in Athens, and one in Patras. Of course no discussion of the Athena Parthenos is complete without the inclusion of numismatic and glyptic evidence. One by one, all three statues are taken up and commented upon, the similarities and differences between them clearly pointed out with an eye to the ancient descriptions. Having drawn attention to the famous shield of the Athena Parthenos (Pliny, *NH* 36.18 and Aristotle, according to Plutarch, *De Mundo* 6.399b), which depicts an Amazonomachy in its reliefs, Brommer dwells upon the subject at considerable length. He justly observes that in the reduction of the copies (the Lenormant Athena, for example, to about one-thirtieth of the original cult statue), the scenes on the shields would quite naturally amount to nothing more than "abbreviations" which reflect the original in theme only. However, interesting relationships between the shield of the Lenormant Athena, the Strangford shield in the British Museum (ca. 48 cms. in diameter and so crucial to a study of this nature), the marble reliefs with individual combatting groups in Piraeus, etc., are analyzed and used to reconstruct (line drawing, fig. 6) the "original" shield. For the shield, add to Brommer's bibliography, D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art* (Oxford 1957) 209-14. The booklet is an excellent model for the series in its clear and sound scholarship.

Vol. 3. Hellmut Sichtermann, *Laocoon*.

This, the longest text of the series (23 pages) is devoted to one of the most widely discussed works of art which we possess from antiquity. Since its discovery in 1506 at Rome, the sculpture has served as a source of inspiration for world-renowned artists (e.g. Michelangelo) and literary figures (Winckelmann, Lessing, Goethe, etc.), as well as a "barometer" for the changing tastes of western civilization; admired during one period, abhorred during another. As representations of the subject are rare in ancient art, the author cites several ancient literary works which are relevant to a discussion of the group statue. He neatly traces the history and the influence of the Vatican Laocoon from its probably Rhodian origin to imperial Rome, Rome of the Papacy, France, etc., and describes the rôle which it played in various periods. Emphasis is given to a report of the aesthetic judgments and criticisms which surrounded the statue group over the centuries since its rediscovery, particularly the exaggerated admiration encountered in the 16th to 18th centuries.

A brief description includes an account of the restorations and reconstructions. For a recent discussion of this problem, evidently prepared without knowledge

of Filippo Magi's current study of the Laocoon, see Seymour Howard, "On the Reconstruction of the Vatican Laocoon Group," *AJA* 63 (1959) 365-69. From the oldest description of the sculpture (Pliny, *NH* 36.37), the words *sentitia consilii* are singled out by Sichtermann and their significance noted. These words are especially important to Magi, from whom we may now expect the publication of, in my opinion, the final word regarding the construction, composition, and dating of the celebrated piece. (This information is derived from an oral report by Magi on his study of the Laocoon from its dismembered parts.)

In trying to establish a date for the group, the author tends to subjective flights of imagination and excessively flowery prose, alluding to: the observer's physical point of view; philosophical observations on human emotions; the presence of classicistic elements and lack of Hellenistic realism; carefully calculated complexities in the composition of the group. All this leads him to place the (to me) obviously Hellenistic product within that period by an odd bit of logic . . . too calculated and complex to belong to a period of creativity (Classical period?), so that it must then belong to a period of eclecticism (Hellenistic?). He decides for a date of 50-30 B.C., which seems to me about three-quarters of a century too late. After the author has bravely attempted to place the statue in *time*, he later, and most poetically, removes it to a realm of *timelessness*. It is not surprising to find that the essay ends with a quotation from the 18th century.

Vol. 4. Helga von Heintze, *Juno Ludovisi*.

The subject of this volume, formerly in the Ludovisi Collection and now in the Museo Nazionale Romano since 1901, is a head of colossal proportions (over one meter in height), which is known as the "Ludovisi Juno." Most probably it was once part of a seated or standing figure. It has consistently presented difficulties of identification, due in large part to its highly generalized and idealized style. Helga von Heintze begins her monograph with a clear and concise history of the piece, after which she enters the problem of chronology and identification. It is almost entirely on the evidence of hair style, i.e. coiffure, that attention first focuses on the Early Empire through a relief in Ravenna and those on the Ara Pacis in Rome; then more specifically to the period of Caligula and Claudius (A.D. 38-54)—more probably, I believe, to the latter. The author finds her strongest parallel in the reliefs of the Ara Pacis (Slab XIV) in the figure identified as *Antonia Minor* (the woman leading a child by her left hand while turning back toward a male figure identified as *Drusus Maior*). The identification as *Antonia Minor* is not new, for it has been proposed by A. Rumpf in *AbhA&Berl* (1941) 1-36. Supporting evidence is provided by the coins of Claudius which depict *Antonia* (a gold specimen with the legend *Antonia Augusta* is illustrated in fig. 7). It now seems likely that after many "aliases" (*Sabina*, *Julia*, *Drusilla*, *Fortuna*, *Juno*, etc.), the "Ludovisi Juno" has assumed her true personality as *Antonia Minor*,

daughter of M. Antonius and Octavia, in the guise of a Roman priestess.

Vol. 5. Reinhard Lullies, *Die Spitzamphora des Kleophrades-Malers*.

Departing from monumental sculpture, this monograph concerns itself with vase-painting as reflected in the work of one master of red-figure who lived in Athens at the beginning of the Persian Wars, first identified as the "Kleophrades Painter" after a kylix in Paris with only the potter's signature. Although it has been discovered through a late work (a pelike in Berlin), that the painter's true name is Epiktetos, the conventional name—rather than Epiktetos II—is used in order to avoid confusion with an earlier, well-known vase-painter by the same name. Red-figured vases are not the only products by the Kleophrades Painter for, amongst the hundred or so vases attributed to him, nine are painted in the black-figure technique; these are Panathenaic amphorae, however, on which the use of the earlier technique was mandatory. Three distinct phases in the evolution of the Kleophrades Painter's style have been noted: an early (under particularly strong influence of Euthymides); a mature; and a late (showing an increasing degree of carelessness); all, nevertheless, illustrate unfailingly his characteristically bold, monumental style. Justifiably, Beazley calls him "the greatest pot-painter of the late-archaic period."

In this monograph, Lullies concentrates on a single masterpiece of the Kleophrades Painter, the pointed-amphora discovered in Etruria and now in the Museum Antiker Kleinkunst, Munich (inv. no. 2344), a work of his mature period. A spirited Dionysiac procession (Dionysos, satyrs and maenads) furnishes the main theme which runs round the body of the vase; on the neck, an athletic scene appears in two parts. Special features and details are pointed out by the author to stress the importance of this painter in the history of Attic painting. Consistently thorough, Lullies does not neglect to consider technique, nor overlook the *shape* of the Munich vase, for which he gives a brief history, calling our attention to the rarity of its use by red-figure vase-painters. This fine little book clearly opens up an unlimited repertory for the publishers, if one thinks of the many other "masterpieces" in the world of vase-painting.

Vol. 6. Jean Charbonneau, *La Vénus de Milo*.

This study of the Aphrodite of Melos, pride of the Louvre, adds another distinguished scholar to the list of contributors to the series. It is still exciting to read an account of the discovery of the masterpiece on the island of Melos in April of 1820 and its subsequent arrival at the Louvre, so aptly outlined by the present Director of Classical Antiquities of that Museum. On the basis of style and composition, Charbonneau immediately assigns the statue to the Hellenistic period, second half of the 2nd century B.C., and later proceeds to establish an even closer dating. First, however, he mentions a number of statue frag-

ments and inscriptions which were discovered in the vicinity of the Aphrodite and carefully shows that none of them is directly associated with the statue. Half of a left hand holding an apple could, by its dimensions, have belonged to the Aphrodite, but Charbonneau notes that the workmanship is of a quality exceedingly inferior to that of her preserved right foot, not to mention the awkward and unconvincing position of the hand if it is restored to the upraised left arm. He also eliminates, as part of the sculpture, a fragment of a plinth with an inscription of a sculptor's name, [Ages- or Alex-]andros (one of two inscriptions found with the Aphrodite but lost in the early years after their removal to the Louvre) because of its size; i.e., it is much higher than the ancient plinth of the Aphrodite of Melos.

Certain technical details, briefly described by the author, concern the joins of the statue, which is composed of six parts cut separately out of Parian marble, a practice dictated by economic reasons or as a precaution against breakage. It is generally accepted today that the Aphrodite is derived from a fourth-century prototype. The author justly maintains that it is not a mere eclectic reproduction, showing its *original yet imitative* character by comparing the Venus of Capua in Naples, a statue also derived from the same type. With the layman in mind, it would have been helpful (since four pages of text are devoted to this stylistic analysis) if an illustration of the Venus of Capua had been included in the plates. A date, 120-90 B.C., is proposed by M. Charbonneau after two bold steps of reasoning with which I agree. He points out similarities between the head of the Aphrodite of Melos and the head of another statue in the Louvre, that known as "Inopos," found on Delos (pl. 6) for which numismatic evidence is cited (not illustrated) to show that this head is an idealized portrait of Mithridates VI Eupator, King of Pontus (120-72 B.C.). The original position of the arms on the Aphrodite of Melos, always a problem, will remain open to conjecture, except for the obvious fact that the left arm is upraised and the right arm crosses in front of the body.

Vol. 7. Willy Schwabacher, *Das Demareteion*.

The *Demareteion* is one of the most admired types of numismatic art ever minted, since the beginning of coinage in the 7th century B.C. It is of course a type, not an isolated object, but one which can be studied generically as a single masterpiece of ancient art. The coin, of unusually large denomination (4-ekadrachm), was doubtless struck as a commemorative piece in honor of the decisive victory won by the allies Gelon and Theron, tyrants of Syracuse and Akragas, over the Carthaginians at the Battle of Himera in the summer of 480 B.C. This victory played as important a rôle in saving Greek (western) civilization in the western Mediterranean as the Battle of Salamis did in the eastern Mediterranean. "Demareteion," the name by which the coin is known, refers to its association with Demarete, wife of Gelon and sister of Theron. In support of this name, the author cites three ancient writers who

have linked Demarete with the striking of the coin. Diodoros Siculus (11.26) states that it was through her influence on her husband and brother that the Carthaginians received milder peace terms than they had expected and that they, in token of their gratitude, made her a gift of a gold wreath valued at one hundred talents, which she converted for the striking of the commemorative coins. Julius Pollux and Hesychios, writing in Roman times, although inconsistent in their reasons for associating Demarete with the coin, nevertheless recognize her as instrumental in its issuance. Whether coin or "medallion" is of no great importance here, for the latter could also serve as monetary exchange; for this matter, add to the bibliography an article which is conspicuously absent, J. G. Milne, "The History of the Greek Medallion," *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson* (1953) 224-32.

Mr. Schwabacher discusses at length the types carried on the obverse and reverse. He does not neglect to give the evidence for the interpretation of the profile head, nor to review the opinions of Sir Arthur Evans and Karl Christ concerning the running African lion in the *exergue* below the chariot. Here the problem is clearly stated as to whether the lion is a symbol of Carthage (Africa) defeated or that of the Delphic Apollo, with a comparison of the coins of Leontini (illustrated) with a similar type. Within the section entitled, *Das Demareteion als Kunstwerk*, the author refers to stylistic parallels found in numismatics: with other exquisite coins (Leontini, Naxos, Katana, etc.); in sculpture, from Temple E at Selinunte; in Athenian vase-painting as seen, for example, in the work of the Pan Painter, all clearly within the period which marks the end of the archaic and the beginning of classical art. A diagram after E. Boehringer, *Die Münzen von Syrakus* (Berlin 1929), is supplied for a better understanding of the different combinations of the seven recognized dies (three for the obverse and four for the reverse) employed in striking the seventeen known Demareteia, of which the example in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts is the finest. The fifth century Syracusan series comes to an end with another distinguished commemorative issue, that in honor of the victory over the besieging Athenians in 413 B.C., for which the city-state engaged the talents of the master engravers, Kimon and Euainetos. We hope that the editors of the *Opus Nobile* series may schedule a publication along the lines of the present monograph, preserving its high quality of illustrations, for this last fine Syracusan issue.

Vol. 8. Werner Fuchs, *Der Dornauszieher*.

To the series of more renowned masterpieces thus far published in the booklets, and already the subject of many learned discussions is added a statue known as the Dornauszieher, or "Spinario," a figure of a young boy, seated on a rock with one leg crossed over the other, drawing a thorn from the sole of his left foot; a type which has been associated with such Greek sculptors as Myron, Pasiteles, Boethos (a fair choice in view of his "Boy Strangling a Goose"), and

others. Core of the monograph is the handsome bronze Spinario in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome (ca. 73 cms. high) with its remarkable head displaying the fine features and long, delicate locks of hair which clearly reflect a fifth century style, most consistent with the style and pose of the body. In subject and composition, the statue is without doubt a product of the Hellenistic age, but for a closer dating of the Conservatori Spinario, Mr. Fuchs draws attention to two other examples. One, the Castellani Spinario in the British Museum, is very much like the Conservatori Spinario in pose but, unlike the latter, has a head stylistically consistent with the body; the statue probably belongs to the late third century B.C. Another, a delightful terracotta from Priene, dateable to the end of the second century B.C. and now in Berlin (fig. 7), is a caricature of the Spinario which, from the treatment of the head, seems to be based on the London type rather than that in Rome. Because of its *pastiche-like* character, the Palazzo dei Conservatori Spinario may be best placed within the first century B.C. when archaizing of current types was practiced in the sculptor's workshops. A history of the Rome Spinario, the influences of the type on mediaeval and early Renaissance art, and the various hypotheses regarding the bronze figure expressed by distinguished scholars to the present time, are given with the utmost clarity.

Vol. 9. Adolf Greifenhagen, *Das Mädchen von Beröa*.

Like the preceding, this monograph is devoted to a study of a bronze figure, in this case a statuette of a standing, nude female with both arms missing except for brief portions from the shoulders to the biceps, in the collection of the Museum Antiker Kleinkunst, Munich. In spite of its small size (25 cms. in height), the hollow-cast bronze displays all of the technical knowledge employed in the casting of monumental sculpture. Surprisingly little has been said in the way of stylistic analysis in order to justify a chronology for the statuette except, perhaps, for the mention of a *softening of the Polykleitan angularities* which suggests to the author a post-Polykleitan date. A Hellenistic date is found totally untenable by Greifenhagen, who prefers to date the bronze to the first half of the fourth century B.C. His conclusions, after rather devious paths, for the *dating* and the *meaning* of the Munich statuette are based, I believe, on a wrong premise. Since the nude female bronze appears non-divine but mortal (and this may be true), and as nude representations of female divinities (Aphrodite?) are not very common until after the Aphrodite of Knidos by Praxiteles (middle of the fourth century B.C.; see following volume of the series), the author assumes—not on stylistic grounds, and here the lack of stylistic analysis is particularly evident—that it must belong to the fourth century. Some of the author's more fanciful assumptions are: that such "naturalism" as reflected in the statue is accountable if one remembers that the Greek painter Zeuxis was extremely "naturalistic" (based on ancient texts); that the statue may be a votive offering by a *Heteira*, or once a gift by an artist to his mistress (en-

couraged by an anecdote from antiquity!). The circumstances of discovery of the bronze are unknown, solely that it comes from "Chalcis" (Verria?). I favor a Hellenistic date, third century B.C., for the statuette (a bather?) which, through the rendering of the features and of the hair, shows classicizing tendencies.

Vol. 10. Theodor Kraus, *Die Aphrodite von Knidos*.

Another great name in Greek sculpture, Praxiteles, is brought into the *Opus Nobile* series by this publication on the Aphrodite of Knidos. The "type," for which a list of more than fifty Roman versions can be given, reflects—but unfortunately not very clearly—an original creation of Praxiteles, which can be dated to about the middle of the fourth century B.C. Pliny relates in one of his anecdotes (36.20) that two statues of Aphrodite, one draped, the other undraped, were offered by Praxiteles to Kos and Knidos. That accepted by the latter was regarded by Pliny as not only the artist's greatest work but the finest in the world. As late as the second century A.D., the Aphrodite continued to attract visitors and admirers (the writings of some have survived: Pliny, Lucian, *Eikones* 6 and *Erotes* 13), to Knidos where the statue was exhibited so as to be viewed from all sides. The popularity enjoyed by the Aphrodite and the pride with which the Knidians regarded their statue by the celebrated sculptor is confirmed by its representation on the coins of Knidos during the time of Caracalla (A.D. 211-218). It is through this coin type that the Praxitelean Aphrodite can be identified in copies, of which the two most famous are in the Vatican: the Venus Colonna and the Belvedere Venus. Both are discussed in great detail by the author who believes, and I see no reason to disagree, that they are Roman copies of the second century A.D. A head in the Louvre, once in the Kaufmann Collection (illustrated in figs. 5 and 6), offers the closest evidence for the style of the head of the original Aphrodite; it comes from Tralles in Asia Minor and has been dated to the second century B.C.

Not long after the completion of the Aphrodite of Knidos, the "Followers" of Praxiteles and the copyists (better, "adapters") of later periods took full advantage of this popular prototype, as is amply demonstrated by the number of extant "copies." With the appearance of the Aphrodite of Knidos, nude representations of the goddess became an almost established rule. In this fine monograph, Mr. Kraus has also presented an excellent sketch of Praxiteles and his artistic environment.

Vol. 11. Wolfgang Schiering, *Der Kalbträger*.

The motive of a man carrying an animal on his shoulders has a long history both within and beyond Greece. One of the most famous examples is the "Calf-bearer" (*Moscophoros*) which was found in the Persian debris of the Acropolis at Athens, and for which a date ca. 570 B.C. has been generally accepted. The statue and its base, which carries the oldest retrograde inscription discovered on the Acropolis, were brought to light in two separate installments; the

statue in 1864, and its base some twenty-three years later. In the author's discussion of this dedicatory inscription, I found no reference to the observations of Raubitschek (*JOAI* 31, p. 138, Beiblatt, col. 33f; or *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis* [AIA 1949] 62f) who noted that the letters are extremely similar to those of a decree which can be dated to 566 B.C., and which therefore suggests a date for the Calf-bearer's inscription not far from that already given to the statue on stylistic grounds. The name, [Rhom]bos seems to be that of the dedicator who, Mr. Schiering believes, is actually portrayed—in an early sixth century style—in the statue; i.e. Rhombos bearing a calf to the altar as an offering to Athena. Two bronze statuettes of animal bearers, one from Crete, the other from the Peloponnese, and the marble "Ram-bearer" in the Baracco Museum, Rome, are mentioned and illustrated. In addition, the Kouros from Tenea is included to provide a parallel for the "ideal" of the Acropolis Calf-bearer.

The preceding monograph, although the last here under review, is fortunately by no means the last of the series; more are to follow, and some may have been already released. We look forward to these future publications by highly qualified writers, some by authors who have already contributed to the series. Since each volume is devoted to some particular ancient work of art, one can see that the range of choice will be almost inexhaustible. Although primarily designed for the layman, their usefulness to the student is particularly noteworthy.

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LES TROPHÉES ROMAINS. CONTRIBUTION À L'HISTOIRE DE LA RELIGION ET DE L'ART TRIOMPHAL DE ROME, by Gilbert-Charles Picard. (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, no. 187.) Pp. 534, figs. and plans (partly unnumbered in text), pls. 32. E. de Boccard, Paris, 1957.

This massive book presents the history of the trophy from the age of Pericles to the reign of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (A.D. 610 to 641), when the Cross of Christ emerged as the only "trophy" in Roman triumphal art. This is a very important book. The only other monographs of equal scope on Roman art since World War II are P. G. Hamberg's *Studies in Roman Imperial Art* (Copenhagen 1945) and I. S. Ryberg's *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* (*MAAR* 22, 1955). Every conceivable monument, major and minor, is discussed, with copious footnotes of value. Each chapter is summarized in detail in advance, and readers will have no difficulty in following detailed arguments or in identifying works discussed, thanks to further short summaries placed in the margins of the text. No

future historian of Roman state art (Republican or imperial) will wish to write without a copy of Professor Picard's book at his elbow.

There have been studies of Roman trophies before, notably the monograph by K. Woelcke and A. J. Reinach's article *Tropaeum* in Daremberg-Saglio, but nothing as complete and as critical as the present work has been published. Picard points out that too often the word "trophy" has been used to designate any monument copiously enriched with armor and weapons. He combats such inaccuracies in every chapter. The first Greek trophies developed out of battlefield commemorations of (Zeus) *Theos Tropaios*, the miraculous image in armor placed to mark the spot where the tide had turned and the enemy was routed. The use of captured arms was as much a votive to the enemy's spirit as a show of material success (like the guns at Gettysburg or the burnt-out tanks by the Brandenburg Gate). Trophies set up over tombs identified the soul of the warrior with his last resting-place.

The Hellenistic successors of Alexander the Great, the Seleucids and the Attalids, exploited the decorative value of the trophy in an architectural setting as the symbol of the victorious puissance of the ruler. Once the idea of the trophy as a sign of the victorious state was established, the trophy (and attendant symbols of military triumph) spread into the mythological and decorative repertoires. Aphrodite posed with Eros beside the trophy of Ares; Dionysos returned in triumphal procession with trophies from India; and Nike (as early as fifth-century vases) set up or decorated trophies, a general symbol. Finally, it must have become not uncommon for late Hellenistic public buildings of lesser sort to be frescoed with trophies.

From about 150 B.C. the Romans grasped all this with militant enthusiasm. Whatever they inherited of Etruscan penchant for display of captured arms and armor (and ritual armor; perhaps the "Warrior of Capetrano" was a trophy), the Romans enlarged the scope of the Hellenistic trophy with customary thoroughness. Great events such as Actium or the conquest of Gaul occasioned trophies in many media, from large architectural complexes to terracotta plaques. Picard shows, with no diminution of documentation, how the imperial trophy takes its place with other types of triumphal art as an expression of state policy, of the virtues of the emperor, of *Roma Aeterna*, and finally of the *fides* of the Christian Roman empire.

The reviewer has covered much of the ground trod by Picard, in connection with two recent studies ("Hellenistic and Roman Cuirassed Statues," *Berytus* 13 [1959] 1-82; *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire* [Cambridge, Mass. 1959]). In this type of work, one could find points of difference in the dating and interpretation of specific monuments discussed by Picard. To list these differences would be to hurl petty criticism at a great work of scholarship.

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ROMAN THEATER-TEMPLES, by *John Arthur Hanson*. Pp. 112, ills. 55. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1959. \$7.50.

The author sets out to disprove the common misconception that the Roman theater, unlike that of Greece, was wholly secularized. For the most part he limits his observations to the architectural evidence. The distinction between Greek and Roman in this respect has probably been overdrawn. He points out that "not a single known Greek theater is architecturally bound to a temple"; the same could be said about the skene and the koilon before the fourth century B.C. Although he recognizes that many of the concepts and practices of the Roman theater have Greek precedents, he emphasizes that the architectural combination of placing a temple above the auditorium was an innovation in the Theater of Pompey. This had already been pointed out in an article by Dorothy K. Hill (*CJ* 39 [1943-44] 360-65), and he characterizes his own study as "in large part an expansion of her preliminary treatment."

After a fairly full discussion, in chapter III, of the Theater of Pompey, which set the pattern, he describes all the theaters known to him in which there is evidence for a similar combination. His list could be expanded; his acquaintance with the theaters of Italy and North Africa seems rather more complete than with those of Greece and Asia Minor. There are clear indications in the Odeion of Herodes and Regilla in Athens that some structure was attached to the analemma in the axis of the building, not unlike that of the cavea shrine in the Theater of Leptis Magna; but it is not mentioned in publications, nor does it show in the published plans. The author goes rather too far in assuming that foundations outside the cavea, like that in the Theater at Dugga, should be interpreted as shrines rather than as outside stairways, which are common features in Roman theaters and amphitheaters. In the newly excavated theater at Isthmia this stairway, though probably never finished, was placed off axis and points directly toward an entrance into the Precinct of Poseidon, thus offering one more example of direct connection between theater and cult place. The theaters in the Asklepieion at Pergamon and in the Kabeirion near Thebes, now under excavation, are further illustrations of such combinations.

The last chapter and an appendix deal with other indications of the role played by religion in the theater of the Roman era: sacred processions, seats reserved for the deity, altars, and cult buildings less directly connected with the theater. The religious practices reflected in such paraphernalia have their counterpart in the theater of the Greeks. But the author arrives at the conclusion that in Roman times it was chiefly the imperial cults that were associated with the theater. The trend may well have been set by Pompey who, however, found antecedents for it in the theater of the Hellenistic East. This point might perhaps be illuminated through excavation in the theater at Mytilene, upon which Pompey's theater was modeled.

The book is by no means an exhaustive study of the subject, as the author is well aware. It is rather in the nature of an essay, presented in support of his thesis that religion played a significant role in the Roman theater. A complete study of this relationship, in Greece as well as in the Roman world, with emphasis on its materialization in architecture, would be a worthwhile undertaking. The present study could serve as prothyron providing entry into this larger area of research.

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EXCAVATIONS IN SOUTHWARK, by *Kathleen M. Kenyon*, C.B.E., D.Lit., F.B.A., F.S.A. (Research Papers of the Surrey Archaeological Society, No. 5.) Pp. 112, figs. 37, pls. viii. Surrey Archaeological Society, 1959, members 25/-, non-members 30/-.

This is the report on archaeological excavations carried out between 1945 and 1947 on sites which had been made available for this purpose by bomb damage in the Borough of Southwark, which lies on the south side of the Thames opposite the City of London.

The main settlement of Roman Southwark is shown to have been a bridgehead settlement at the Surrey end of the Roman London Bridge, with some ribbon development running south along Stane Street, which "mainly took place not earlier than the second century A.D." The two sites nearest the river produced a relatively large quantity of Flavian material, but very little earlier. There was little Roman occupation after the beginning of the fourth century A.D., and layers of dark silt indicating flooding of the area date from perhaps as early as the later part of that century. Post-Roman occupation of the area began ca. A.D. 1300, with increased activity in the 16th and 17th centuries and a climax in the industrial development of the mid 19th century.

The bulk of the report consists of a detailed study of the individual sites and of the finds, with sections on Samian pottery, various categories of post-Roman pottery, Roman glass vessels, tobacco pipes and coins by appropriate experts. The coarse Roman pottery is arranged in Type Series and Site Groups, as in the *Jewry Wall* Report. Everything is well illustrated, and as excellently presented as one would expect of so distinguished an author.

One conclusion of Dr. Kenyon has a significance beyond the main chronological field of this report. This is that the Romanized native ware which was so common, and which should indicate the character of the indigenous people incorporated in the Roman settlement, reveals no appreciable element of S. E. Belgic type (pp. 15, 55ff). This is a surprising state of affairs to find here at the point of junction between the Catuvellaunian territories north of the Thames and those to the south.

By way of a footnote one may perhaps add that the

axe-headed pin (fig. 31, no. 4) belongs to a large series of Roman miniature axes, votive or magical in character (see J. R. Kirk, "Bronzes from Wood Eaton, Oxon," *Oxoniensia* 14 [1949] 4, 32ff) and that fig. 33, no. 2 is almost certainly a Roman oil-flask.

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GLI SCAVI DEL "DOMINUS FLEVIT," PARTE I: LA NECROPOLI DEL PERIODO ROMANO, by B. Bagatti and J. T. Milik. (Pubblicazioni dello Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, N. 13.) Pp. 187, pls. 44. Tipografia dei PP. Francescani, Jerusalem, 1958.

In the construction of a wall around their property on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem the Franciscan fathers discovered an extensive cemetery of more than 500 burials extending over the period of the first century B.C. through the fourth century A.D. The final report on this cemetery of the Roman period has been published promptly by the excavator, Father B. Bagatti, three years after the excavations of 1953-1955. The tombs are of three types: the *kôkhim* tomb, the arcosolia type of burial, and the simple trench grave. Each of these tombs is described fully, and their contents are presented in chapters by Bagatti on the sarcophagi and ossuaries, the pottery, and the glass and small objects. The most significant materials are the inscriptions in Greek, Aramaic, and Hebrew found on the ossuaries, which were entrusted to Abbé J. T. Milik, one of the team of scholars now working on the Dead Sea Scrolls, who has contributed a valuable chapter to the publication. The graffiti on the ossuaries contain an important sampling of names used in Jerusalem during the early Christian centuries—7 are in Greek, 11 in Aramaic, and 11 in Hebrew. The inscriptions are, perhaps, most important for the evidence which they provide for the Hebrew-Aramaic script, both cursive and square, which was in common use during the period of the burials. Milik has given a table of scripts (p. 102) comparing the ossuary scripts with those of the graffiti on the ossuary lid found near Bethphage, a papyrus of 134 B.C., and two papyri from Murabba'at (18 and 44 + 42). In addition to the graffiti the ossuaries and the sarcophagi provide a wealth of geometric and floral designs which throw light on the symbolism of the period. The appearance of the so-called Constantine monogram, X with a superimposed P, when taken with proper names which correspond to those found in the New Testament, has led the excavator to consider the burials in tomb 79 as Christian. This conclusion has been disputed with considerable force by R. de Vaux in *Revue Biblique* 66 (1959) 299-301. This volume is an extremely lucid presentation of important material.

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THE EXCAVATIONS AT HERODIAN JERICHO, 1951, by J. B. Pritchard with contributions by S. E. Johnson and G. C. Miles. Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Vols. XXXII-XXXIII. Pp. xiii + 58, pls. 66. New Haven, 1958. \$7.50.

Pritchard's report is a sequel to that of J. L. Kelso on the work done in 1950 in the same general area (see *Excavations at New Testament Jericho and Khirbet en-Niila*, AASOR Vols. XXIX-XXX, 1955). Both deal with a group of archaeological remains on the south bank of the Wadi Qelt, where it debouches into the Jordan valley near the modern town of Jericho. The possibility and desirability of excavations in this area was suggested by the availability of laborers in the UNRWA refugee camp nearby and by the proposal of the Clapp Report to dam the Wadi Qelt and thus to provide for irrigation in the lower Jordan valley. Since the irrigation channels from the proposed dam would have turned southward where they entered the plain, it was on the south bank of the stream bed that work was planned and undertaken at my suggestion with the co-operation of General Kennedy, then directing the affairs of UNRWA.

The first season of work under Kelso exposed a heavily-built terrace wall some 114 m. long running east and west along the southern bank of the stream bed, with which was associated a tower-like fortress set back some 55 m. from the stream approximately on a line with the eastern end of the terrace wall. Its good workmanship (*opus reticulatum*) and its alternate square- and round-headed niches suggested that the wall was part of the formal development of a garden such as might have belonged to a royal estate (*ager regius*). It seemed desirable, therefore, to look for a residential building directly south of the semicircular recess marking the center of the long terrace wall. The search, conducted successfully by Pritchard, brought to light the large peristyle villa which he discusses in the present publication and which, though its orientation is not precisely identical with that of the garden terraces, is none the less the dwelling with respect to which the terraces were developed.

The dwelling is a rectangular structure covering an area of 86 x 46 m. Its rooms are arranged on three sides of a courtyard ca. 41 x 34 m. originally set out with a peristyle. A large *oecus*, set out on three sides with pedestals that must at one time have supported an interior colonnade, gave on the west end of the courtyard. In the rooms along the north side of the dwelling provision was made for the typical *caldarium* with hypocaust and for the plunges of a private bath. Geometric mosaics, Hellenistic and Roman pottery, Herodian and (hoarded) Islamic coins and some few pieces of simple Ionic and Corinthian architectural ornament were found. In view of the proximity of and the gentle slope leading down to modern and Byzantine Jericho, it is not strange that virtually the entire superstructure

of the building had been removed, leaving only the foundations intact.

The importance of the structure lies in its character as a typical *Peristylbau*, its undeniable Herodian date and its probable historical associations. In all likelihood it represents the "palace" of Herod at Jericho of which Josephus speaks and where Mariamne's brother Aristobulus was drowned at Herod's orders. Since the orientation of the dwelling is not identical with that of the garden terraces, the chances are that these were added in the days of Archelaus, the date assigned to them by Kelso. Analogies to the form of the dwelling are numerous and particularly close in the case of those excavated at Ptolemais in Cyrenaica by the Italian and American expeditions (see my forthcoming report on *Ptolemais, City of the Libyan Pentapolis*). I have myself traced the outlines of a series of buildings on the northern bank of the Wadi Qelt, directly across the way from those cleared by Kelso and Pritchard. These should be cleared and mapped to complete the picture of the *ager regius* of the Herodians in the Jericho region.

CARL H. KRAELING

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

ANTIOCHE PAÏENNE ET CHRÉTIENNE: LIBANIUS, CHRYSOSTOME ET LES MOINES DE SYRIE, par *A. J. Festugière*, O.P. Avec un commentaire archéologique sur l'Antiochikos (196 ss.) par *Roland Martin*. (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Fascicule 194.) Pp. 540, map. Éditions E. de Boccard, Paris, 1959. 3,500 francs.

By reason of the city's location and history, "pagan and Christian Antioch" has always been a singularly attractive theme. The abundant literary sources for the fourth century are now to be studied in the light of the valuable collection of mosaics recovered in the excavations of 1932-1939.

Viewing man as "eternally pagan, because paganism is rooted in his very nature" (p. 9), P. Festugière examines the interrelationships of paganism and Christianity in a mixed society such as that of Antioch. Libanius and St. John Chrysostom are taken as the leading representatives of the two traditions, and their views on classical and Christian education are reviewed in detail, with additional attention to the rôle of the monks and the monasteries in education.

The study is based almost exclusively on the literary texts. P. Festugière translates nine orations and five letters of Libanius on educational topics; the *Vita* of St. Symeon Stylites the Elder by Antonius; and a part (§§196-271) of Libanius, *Or. 11*, *In Praise of Antioch*. The latter is accompanied by an archaeological commentary by R. Martin. By coincidence, a complete translation of this oration, with commentary, by the present reviewer, was published almost simultaneously (*ProcPhilSoc* 103, no. 5, Oct. 1959).

The title of the book might have led some readers

to hope that it would bring a contribution to our understanding of the classical mosaics and their significance for the interplay of paganism and Christianity at Antioch. Instead, the author has chosen to leave the mosaics out of consideration because the presence in a house of a classical mosaic does not by itself show whether the household was pagan; because the mosaics have already been studied in detail by Doro Levi and other scholars; and because the mosaics have not proved as rich a source of information concerning the spiritual life of Antioch as had been hoped (cf. pp. 11-12). The reader must remember that this limitation may affect the interpretation of the texts. For example, in his translation of Libanius, *Or. 11*, P. Festugière omits §241 because it is "pure rhetoric." This paragraph speaks of the local tradition that the Judgment of Paris took place at Daphne. This tradition is strikingly illustrated by the well known mosaic of the Judgment found in the excavations, and a note on this mosaic would have provided interesting commentary on Libanius' words.

The author has imposed on himself another limitation. He has supplied only a brief bibliography of modern works; "la vie est brève, et l'on ne peut tout lire" (p. 17). One's time is better spent, P. Festugière believes, in reading the ancient texts. One can surely sympathize, and the author is by all means entitled to write such a book. It is useful and interesting—a personal interpretation, genial and leisurely. It does not attempt to be a formal synthesis. The subject—notably the relationship between Libanius and St. John Chrysostom—still offers much for study.

GLANVILLE DOWNY

DUMBARTON OAKS

THE MYTH OF ROME'S FALL, by *Richard Mansfield Haywood*. Pp. viii + 178, frontispiece. Thomas Y. Crowell, Inc., New York, 1958. \$3.50.

In this volume a competent classical and historical scholar discusses again the problem of the "decline and fall" of the Roman Empire. Professor Haywood would have it that, although not much can be added, much can be eliminated. Unlike Brooks Adams, Spengler, and Toynbee he finds in this period no great principle to be grasped about the cyclic birth and death of civilizations in general. Rather he argues that there is no single causation which inevitably brings about the fall of cultures. He attempts to refute the idea long cherished by philosophic historians, that the fall of Rome was the natural result of internal weaknesses in the Roman culture which, as functions of its senescence, were without remedy. He reviews broadly the political, social, and economic conditions of the crucial period from the second to the sixth centuries to demonstrate in each case that mere chance, more judicious management at critical periods, could almost at any point have turned the tide of affairs and kept the Empire intact. In each century he sees the major problems as those of

political succession; of maintaining the authority of the central government; of managing the army, finance, and foreign affairs. In each case the solutions were good or bad according to the degree of competence of the men who ruled the state. In no century does he find the general malaise ordinarily attributed to the Empire and its people at the time of its fall. Where others have postulated decay, he notes merely change. For example he notes that in the later period much of the literary and artistic, as well as the political, talent of the age was absorbed by Christianity, but the Church, incorporated as it was in the structure of the Empire, need not have been a threat to it—in fact it retained the structural organization long after the Empire ceased to function. Thus the new Christianity might in a certain light be seen as a possible addition to imperial strength and not the enemy it has at times been called. If Rome fell, it was not, according to Professor Haywood, for any towering reason but rather because of many small mistakes and mismanagement when intelligent handling was needed to save the situation.

In denying to the "fall" any overall causation, the author has dismissed the existence of a general ethical and moral tone characteristic of a cultural group. This may be correct, but the reviewer feels that in the time of the Elder Cato there was in Rome a strong moral atmosphere (despite the deviations which are to be found in any environment) influencing, and in turn influenced by, the behavior of the Roman leaders. This atmosphere permeates all one reads from that period. One is made to feel that generally the "right and just" were being sought; there might be disagreement over precisely which course of action could be considered "right and just," but the direction and intention were unmistakably there. In the later period no longer can one sense this strong single and essentially moral orientation. There is much diffusion of energies. Those capable of valuable service have given up their concern for the welfare of the state, some expended their energies on Christianity instead, and life in the Greco-Roman culture of the Empire no longer had the real and vital direction it once did. Consequently if Rome declined because the Empire was not handled well at crucial periods, we may well inquire into the reasons why. Surely mere chance could not account for all the mismanagement of the late period. If it could, where then was this type of chance when Rome was in the process of becoming the Empire she did manage to become? Is it not possible that the temper of the times failed to activate in men the type of behavior which had at one time made Rome so powerful?

Subjective explanations of this period have proved too much, but surely each generation of scholars will seek such causation in this crucial era of our history. This volume would limit such speculation, but is a provocative contribution to a question which must remain forever *sub iudice*.

WILLIAM C. McDERMOTT

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE BELCHER MOUND. A STRATIFIED CADDOAN SITE IN CADDO PARISH, LOUISIANA, by Clarence H. Webb. Pp. xiv + 212, figs. 142, tables 4. Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology, No. 16. Salt Lake City, 1959. \$3.00.

Few archaeological areas in the United States have had such a small but devoted group of workers as has the Caddoan. Clarence H. Webb's volume is evidence of the contribution that can be made to local archaeology by a non-professional, and I use that term only to indicate that Webb, a practicing pediatrician, does not earn his living from archaeology, for the monograph under review is of professional quality in every way. The field work at the Belcher Mound, Caddo Parish, Louisiana, was carried out intermittently over nearly 20 years between 1936 and 1954. The manuscript was completed in 1955, but there was some delay in arranging for publication. It is a credit to the author not only to have completed this work, of such long duration in the actual research, but also to have persevered and found adequate financial support for this Memoir.

Webb's monograph follows a rather common format: an introduction with an historical and archaeological background, a chapter on the excavations and stratigraphy, two primarily descriptive sections on houses and burials, followed by three chapters on pottery, artifacts, and food remains. The last three sections deal with cultural continuity and change, the Southern Cult as seen in the Belcher Focus, and a summary. Comparative discussions are handled in the appropriate chapters dealing with architecture, burial customs, and ceramic traits.

The short historical section is packed with data on the Caddoan groups of the area, and although mainly from secondary sources, such as Bolton, Glover and Hardin, it presents a very adequate summary of the ethnohistorical picture. The unpublished Indian Claims Commission findings of C. H. Lang and this reviewer do not substantially alter Webb's conclusions. The lack of any identifiable historic sites near Belcher within this otherwise rich archaeological area is something of an enigma. The earlier tentative identification of the Foster site, which has a Belcher Focus component, as a late 18th century village, is not strengthened by any data from the Belcher Mound itself except a single C¹⁴ date to be discussed later.

The excavations, done mostly on weekends, were meticulous, and the eight houses and twenty-six burial pits were carefully recorded, photographed, and drawn. Some of the inhumations, Burial Pit 15 for example, were very complex, with as many as thirty-three pottery vessels and many other accompanying grave goods; the excavation techniques were fully adequate to handle this complexity.

The site, as excavated, consisted of two low mounds which ultimately were joined in a single accretional structure. No evidence of a large village area could be found, and it was concluded that the site represented

a small ceremonial center. Four building phases, Belcher I-IV, were defined, with the earliest house being a rectangular wall-trench structure with an entrance way, while circular and oval pole-construction houses persisted from Belcher II to IV.

The mortuary practices through all the Belcher periods focused on primary extended burials in pits below house floors with numerous individuals (as many as 12) and artifacts simultaneously interred. Webb infers (pp. 110-11) that many of these represent important personages, generally males, who were buried with members of the family and chosen individuals and with numerous ceremonial objects and pottery. He points out that although no cemetery for the "common" people was found at the type site, a Belcher Focus cemetery at the Battle Site is known in which simpler single burials with abundant pottery but no ceremonial items were typical. In the "Comparative Burial Customs" section, Webb (pp. 115-16) takes exception to Sear's Gulf Coast Plain burial pattern which includes the Caddoan, Lower Mississippi, and Florida Gulf Coast areas. While admitting that some of the Weeden Island-Caddoan comparisons are valid, Webb points up the almost complete lack of class-structured burial patterns in the Lower Mississippi Valley, which should form the connecting link.

The pottery section is well handled, with a clear discussion of the typology, adequate descriptions of the types, and presentation of the ceramic sequence of the site based on the seriation of sherd lots associated with the eight houses. The lack of illustrations of sherds, especially those considered evidence of trade, is an unfortunate omission. What amounts to a cross-cutting but limited modal analysis follows, including temper, shape, pigment and decorative techniques. Although these modes are not rigorously quantified, Southeastern ceramics can well use more of such diverse analytical treatments.

The other artifacts, stone, bone and shell, are competently handled. The zoomorphic shell pendants used in necklaces are diagnostic Belcher Focus traits, and are rare or absent in the other Caddoan regions. Other ceremonial items include eight conch shell bowls, three of which are engraved. The projectile points were given type names following the admirable practice of the area; Bassett points are the local type. Webb's data tend to indicate a possible later association for the Alba points, i.e. Fulton Aspect, than generally held by

others. The food remains indicate agriculture, including maize and beans during the latter part of the site's occupation, with a 12-row cob characteristic of the maize. No changes are noted, since all remains were from late deposits only.

The three concluding sections are intensive in detail and extensive in coverage. They include trait lists of the three sequent cultural units at the site, with Belcher III-IV (the Belcher Focus) the most lengthy. Southern Cult influences are late (Belcher III), and Webb (pp. 195-99) has some difficulty aligning this material with the Haley and Alto Foci, which are normally placed much earlier. It requires some rather fancy footwork to avoid the conclusion that possibly the whole Caddoan sequence is too greatly expanded chronologically. Even in Belcher II some "possible" Plaquemine trade sherds are noted (p. 191), and the number of mixed Alto Focus types in Belcher III-IV is also suggestive of dating difficulties, although accidental mixture may have occurred as Webb suggests. The Carbon 14 dates appended to the report of A.D. 858 \pm 100 for Belcher I and A.D. 1753 \pm 100 for Belcher III appear to cover too much time. In fact, this reviewer's only major criticism is that Webb has equated four building stages with four cultural units; Belcher II is an especially weak construct. Two major units are apparent from the data: Belcher I, of Alto Focus affiliation, and Belcher III-IV, the Belcher Focus. There are few cultural data to suggest a time span of nearly a thousand years for the two units, as indicated by the radiocarbon dates. The lack of any 18th century trade goods makes the latest date completely unreasonable, but the early date seems at least not impossible.

Webb has written a clear site report in which the important problems are met with intelligence. However, the whole Caddoan picture can, I fear, only be clarified by discarding the Gibson and Fulton Aspects, which have served only to confuse the picture and raise false questions. Let each focus be temporally aligned where the data point, "aspects" to the contrary notwithstanding, and let the trade sherds, both internal and external, and such horizon markers as classic Southern Cult artifacts have their say in the correlation with the Red River and other significant stratigraphic sequences.

STEPHEN WILLIAMS

PEABODY MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Errata: Vol. 64, No. 2

In the summaries of papers presented at the sixty-first General Meeting of the Institute:

Page 184, "The New York Band-Cup Painter," DeCoursey Fales, Jr., for Harvard University *read* Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Page 186, "Rhyta from the Spoils of Plataea," Herbert Hoffmann, paragraph 3, line 3f, for Athenian *read* Achaemenian: "Similar Achaemenian luxury vases of gold and silver were also to be seen on the Acropolis. . . ."

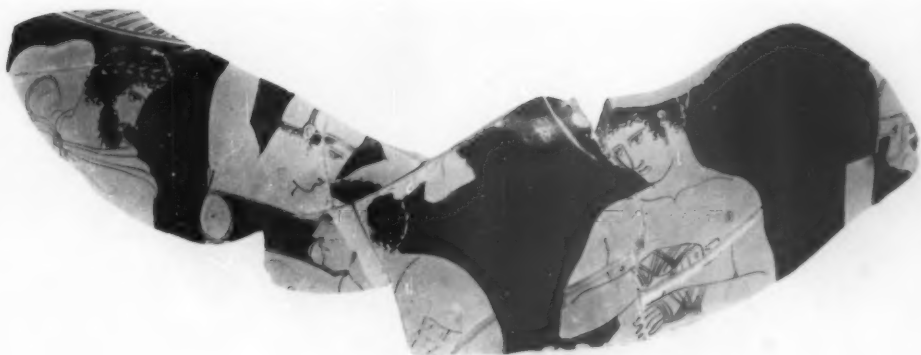


FIG. 1. Volute-krater in Ferrara, T. 404

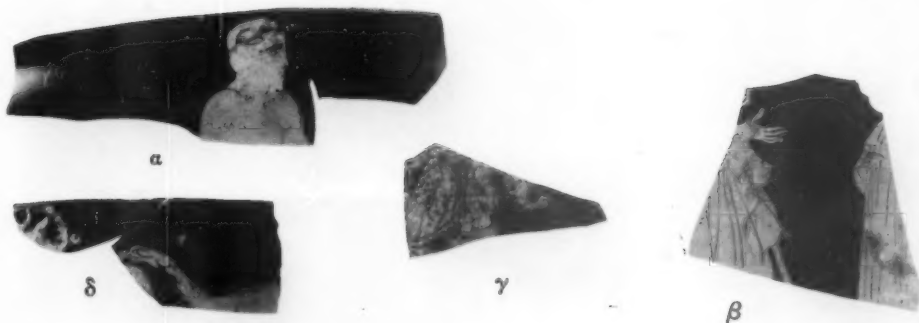


FIG. 2. Cup-fragments in the Astarita Collection



FIG. 3. Volute-krater in Ferrara, T. 404



FIG. 4. Inscriptions on volute-krater Ferrara T. 404



FIG. 1. Tumulus: tomb as seen from above, with roof beams resting flat on floor



FIG. 2. Tumulus: crushed coarse amphoras along west end of tomb



FIG. 11. Section of bull-head cauldron attachment. By A. K. Knudsen

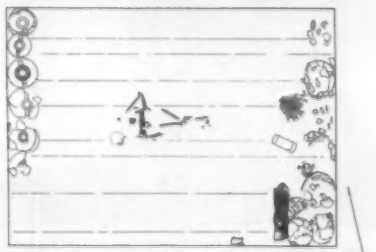


FIG. 3. Tumulus: plan of objects in tomb, as found. By J. S. Last

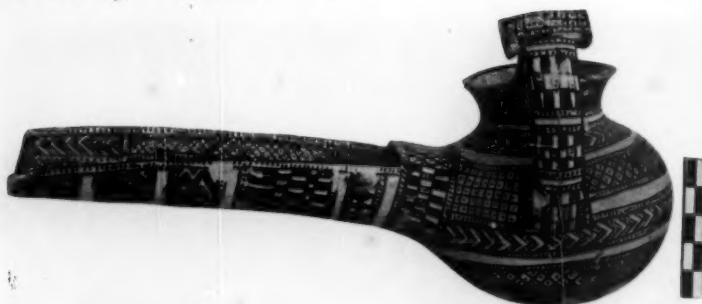


FIG. 6. Painted Phrygian side-spouted jar from tomb

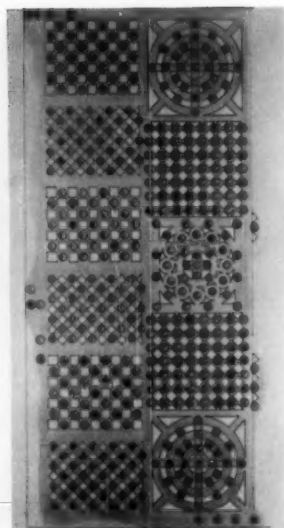


FIG. 5. Tumulus: fragment of wooden screen decorated with bronze studs. Restored drawing by J. S. Last



FIG. 8. Bronze jug from tomb with strainer, side spout, and handle rotelles



FIG. 9. Bronze omphalos bowl from tomb, pinecone-like relief decoration



FIG. 10. Detail of bronze ladle from tomb: engraved lion-head



FIG. 7. Painted bichrome jug with round mouth and added side spout, from tomb

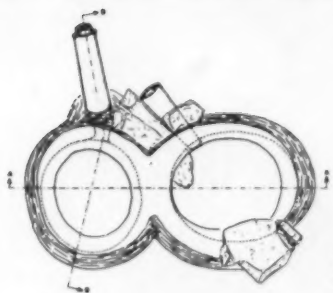
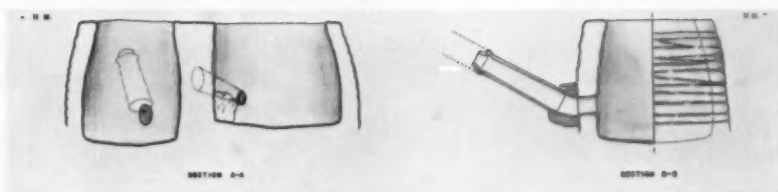


FIG. 12. Hellenistic twin ovens of coiled clay with water pipes reused as flues. Drawings by J. S. Last

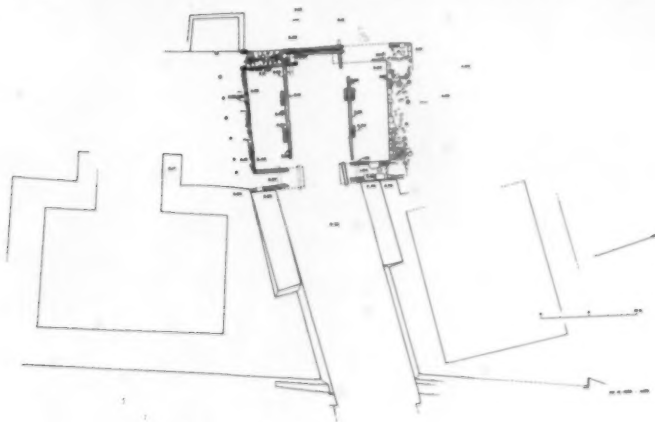


FIG. 14. Plan: Phrygian Gate (in outline) and Polychrome House. By J. S. Last

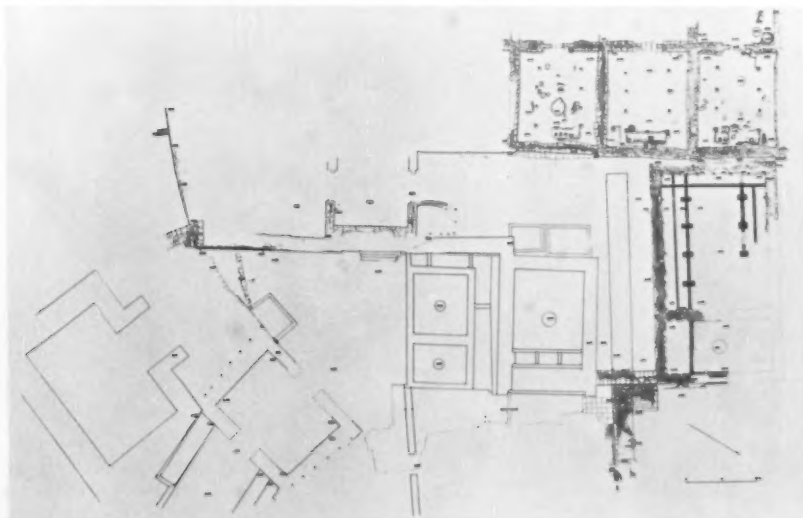


FIG. 16. Plan of Phrygian city: Gate building, brick building, mosaic building, enclosure wall, and Megaron 3. Terrace building above. By J. S. Last

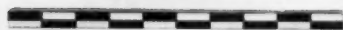
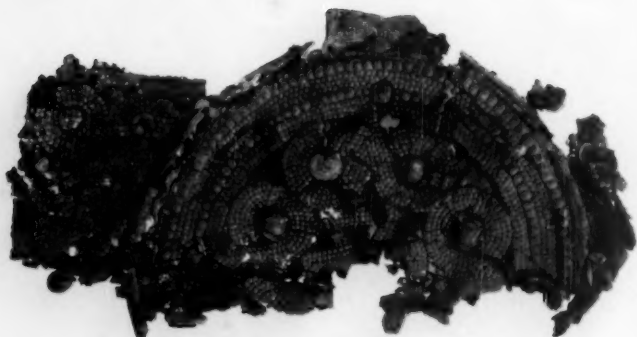


FIG. 4. Tumulus: fragment of studded leather belt worn by skeleton



FIG. 15. Sherds of painted ware (Alişar IV)



FIG. 22. Painted Phrygian krater from Megaron 3, with built-in cover



FIG. 20. Buff-polished cup or bowl with high handles, from Megaron 3



FIG. 21. Round-mouthed jug from Megaron 3: bichrome



FIG. 29. Painted askos from eastern room of Terrace Building



FIG. 13. Opening of Phrygian Gate and outer face of city wall to south, from northeast



FIG. 17. Megaron 3 from north; above, Terrace Building



FIG. 18. Beam laid in floor of Megaron 3, with cross-bed beneath and cut socket for wooden post



FIG. 19. Bowl containing smaller vessels fallen to floor of Megaron 3; above right, remains of bronze vessels



FIG. 25. Carved ivory inlay pieces from furniture: a) deer; b) griffin with fish; c) mounted Phrygian warrior



FIG. 23. Furniture fragment from Megaron 3: procession of animals carved in relief on wood (now charcoal)

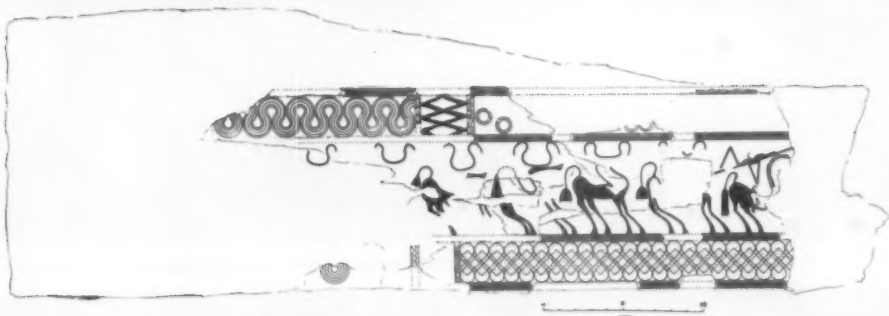


FIG. 24. Drawing of wood relief, fig. 23



FIG. 26. Terrace Building: westernmost room, from south



FIG. 27. Terrace Building: southwest room, oven and hearth



FIG. 28. Terrace Building: burned wooden kneading troughs in western room



FIG. 1. Heyl terracotta
(courtesy Berlin Museum)



FIG. 3. Bronze in Lateran
Museum (Alinari)



FIG. 4. Bronze in Walters Art Gallery
(courtesy Walters Art Gallery)



FIG. 2. Restoration of fig. 1
(drawing by Ray Poritsky)



FIG. 5. British Museum terracotta
(courtesy Trustees of the
British Museum)



FIG. 6. Aphrodite of Capua (Alinari)

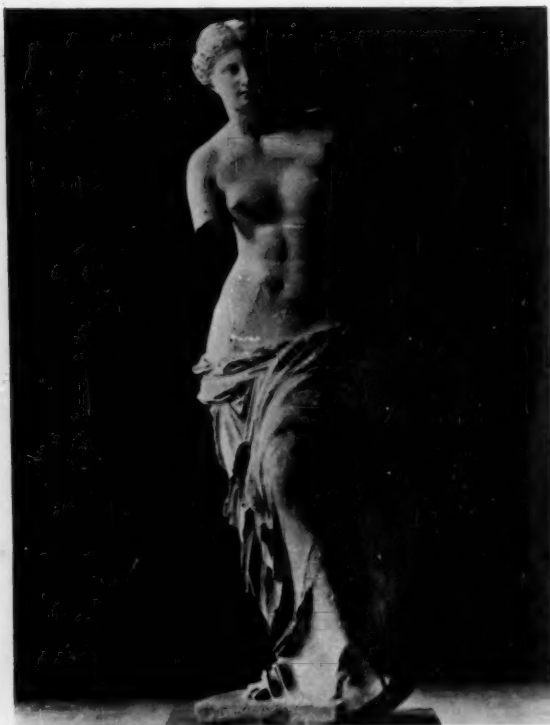


FIG. 7. Aphrodite of Melos (Lullies & Hirmer: *Greek Sculpture*)



FIG. 8. Restoration (Kiel: *Die Venus von Milo*)



FIG. 9. Restoration (Furtwaengler: *Meisterwerke*)



FIG. 10. Restoration (drawing by H. Suhr)



FIG. 2. Piraeus. Statues of Artemis and Athena as found



FIG. 1. Piraeus. Finding place of statues



FIG. 4. Piraeus. Bronze kouros, detail

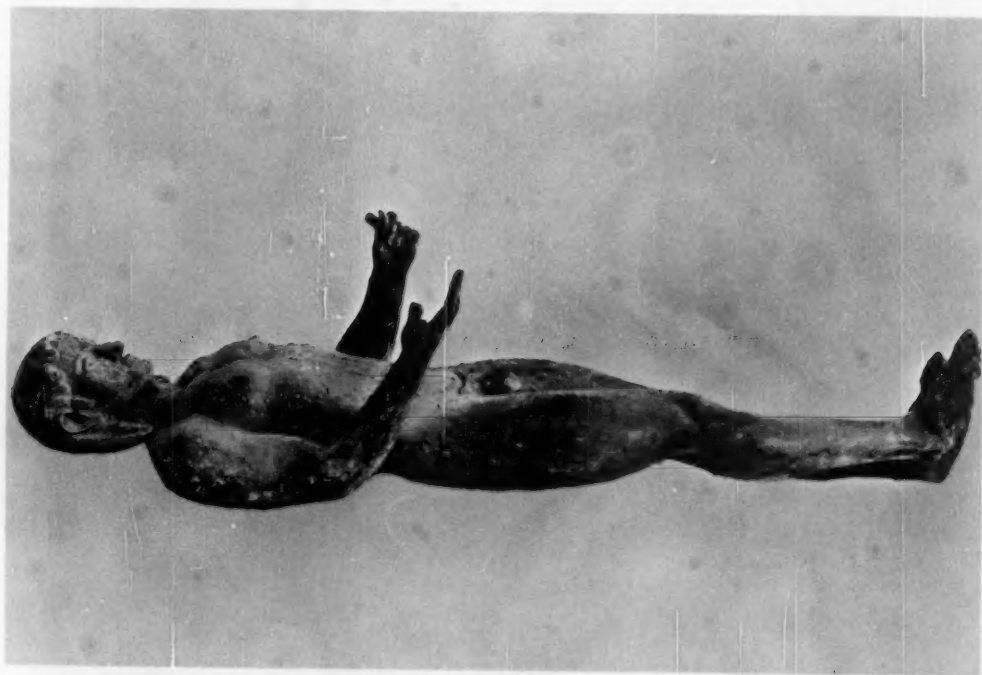


FIG. 3. Piraeus. Bronze kouros

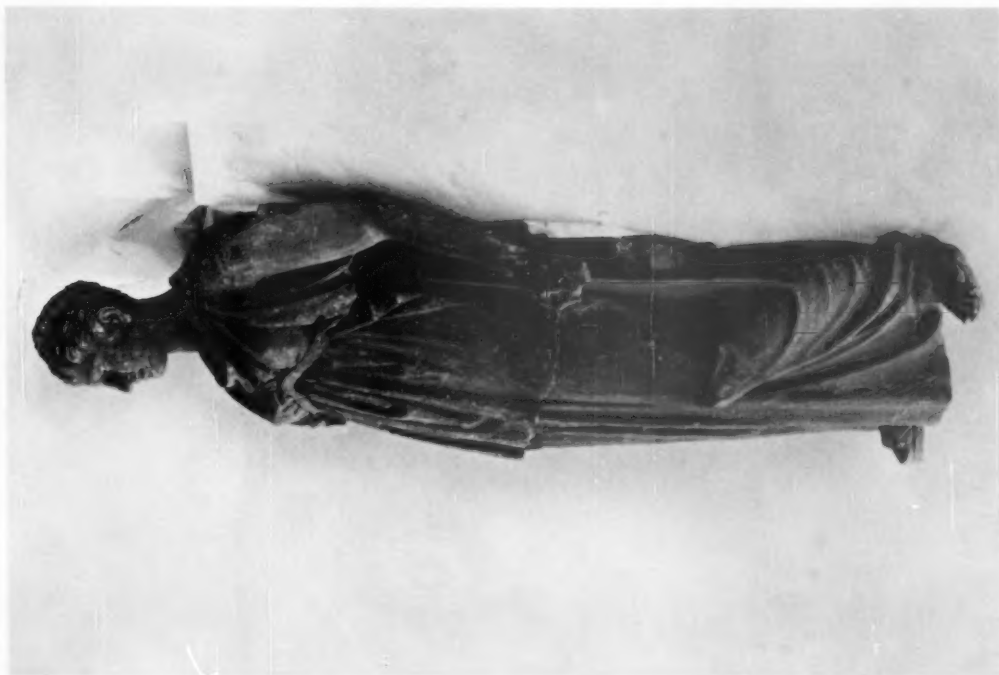


FIG. 7. Piraeus. Female figure in bronze



FIG. 8. Piraeus. Female figure in bronze, detail



FIG. 5. Piraeus. Bronze Athena



FIG. 6. Piraeus. Bronze Athena, detail



FIG. 10. Piraeus. Bronze Artemis, detail



FIG. 9. Piraeus. Bronze Artemis



FIG. 11. Piraeus. Bronze mask



FIG. 12. Piraeus. Marble statue



FIG. 13. Piraeus. First herm



FIG. 14. Piraeus. Second herm



FIG. 15. Athens. Poros column drums of Peisistratid Olympeion



FIG. 16. Athens. Propylon of Hadrianic Olympeion



FIG. 18. Epano Liosia. Marble head



FIG. 17. Athens. Relief found north of Olympieion



FIG. 19. Dodona. Theater and scene building

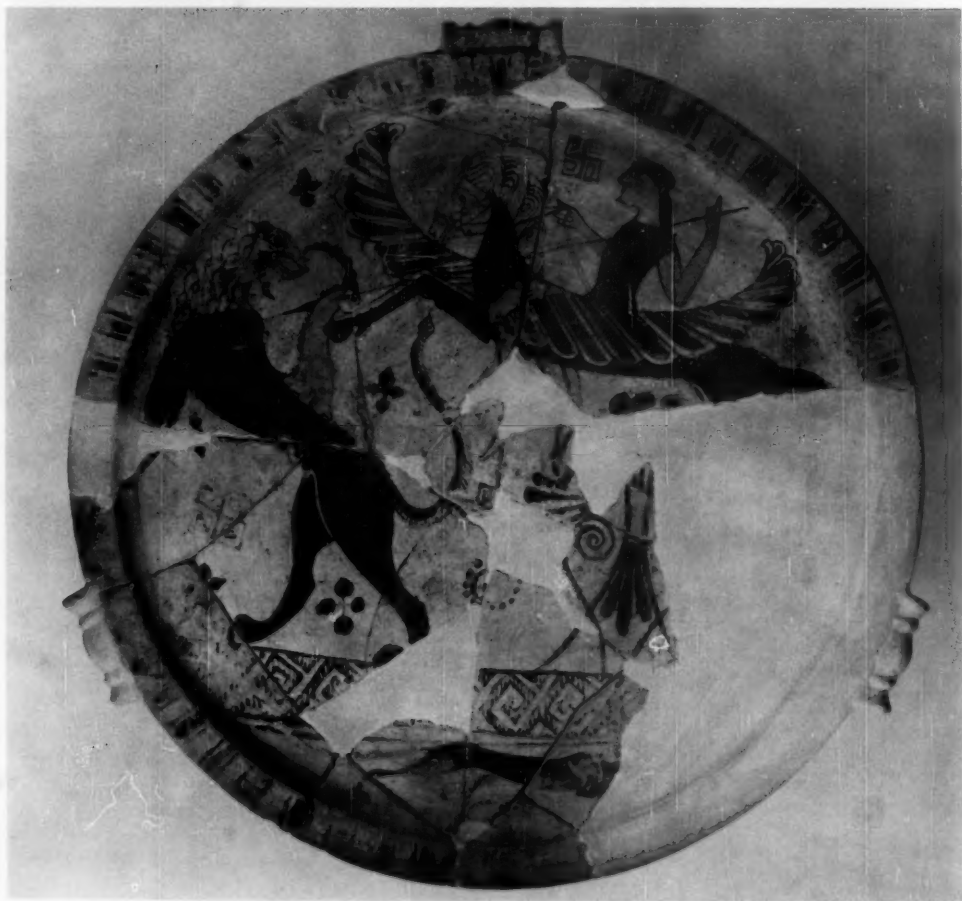


FIG. 20. Thasos. Orientalizing plate



FIG. 1



FIG. 2



FIG. 4



FIG. 3

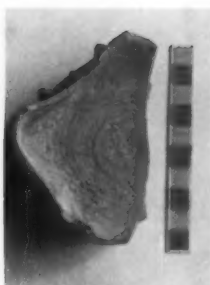


FIG. 5



FIG. 8

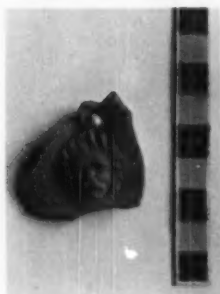


FIG. 6

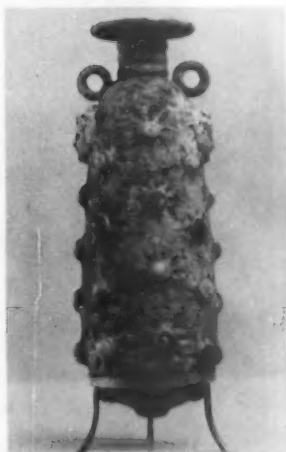


FIG. 7



FIG. 10



FIG. 9

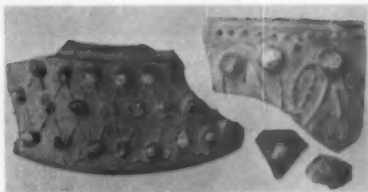


FIG. 12



FIG. 11

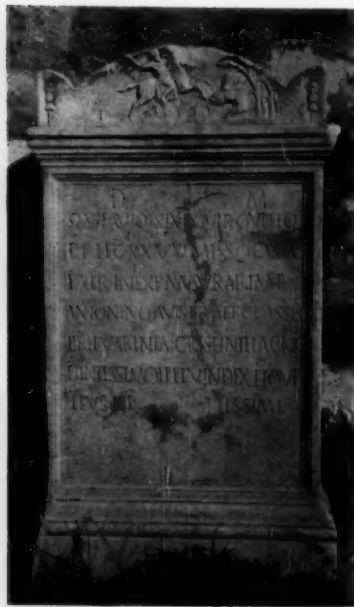


FIG. 1



FIG. 2



FIG. 3



FIG. 6

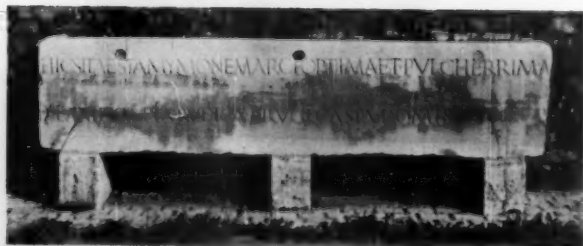


FIG. 4



FIG. 7

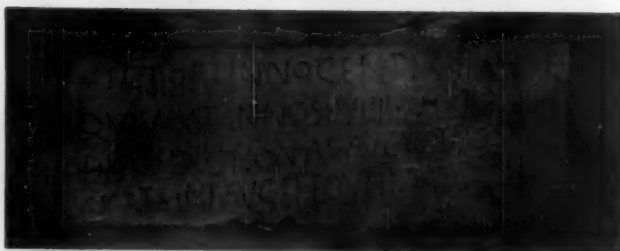


FIG. 5



FIG. 1



FIG. 2



FIG. 3



FIG. 4



FIG. 7



FIG. 5



FIG. 9



FIG. 6



FIG. 8



FIG. 1. Inv. no. 1958/I-10/1, side A, before addition of British Museum fragments



FIG. 2. Inv. no. 1958/I-10/1, side A, after addition of British Museum fragments



FIG. 3. Inv. no. 1958/I-10/1, side B



FIG. 4. CS338, from Arpera

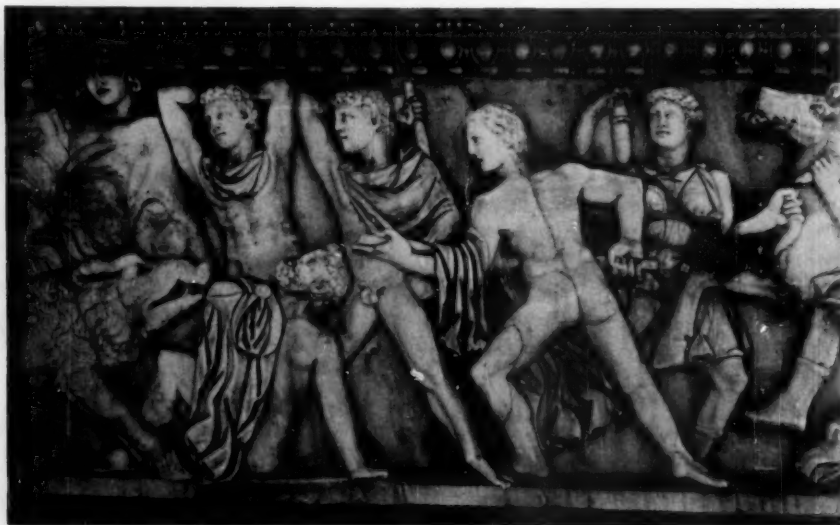


FIG. 1



FIG. 2



FIG. 1. Rhodes



FIG. 2. Berlin (Foto Marburg)



FIG. 4. London (courtesy British Museum)



FIG. 3. Berlin (Foto Marburg)



FIG. 5. Baltimore (courtesy Walters Art Gallery)



FIG. 6a. Rhodes



FIG. 6b. Rhodes

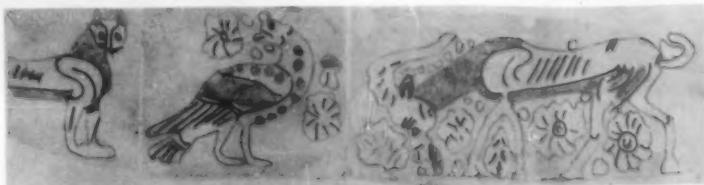


FIG. 7. Oxford, Mississippi



FIG. 8. Oxford (courtesy Ashmolean Museum)



FIG. 9. Oxford (courtesy Ashmolean Museum)



FIG. 10. Oxford (courtesy Ashmolean Museum)



FIG. 11. Copenhagen (courtesy National Museum)



FIG. 12. Copenhagen (courtesy National Museum)



FIG. 13. Athens



FIG. 14. Corinth (courtesy American School of Classical Studies)



Book Reviews, continued

Hackin, Carl, Meunié and others, <i>Diverses recherches archéologiques en Afghanistan (1933-1940)</i> (B. Rowland, Jr.)	286
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